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AET. I.—1. Japan; an Account, Geographical and Historical, from the earliest Period after which the Islands composing this Empire were known to Europeans, down to the present Time. By Charles Mac Farlane, Author of "British India," &c. With Illustrations, 8vo. London: G. Routledge and Co., 1852.

2.—Japan and the Japanese; comprising the Narrative of a Captivity in Japan, and an Account of British Commercial Intercourse with that Country. By Captain Golownin, of the Russian Navy. New and revised Edition. 8vo., 2 vols. London: Colburn, 1852.

THE limits of the "Terra Incognita" of the old geographers are narrowing fast. Our last number con-

^{*} Art. I. "The Lamas of Tibet." Since the publication of that paper, a very interesting book has appeared, which is in some sense a supplement to M. Huc's travels-Dr. Thomson's Western Himalaya and Tibet (Reeve and Co.). The reader may perhaps remember that, when the Chinese resident at Lla-Ssa insisted on M. Huc and his companion's quitting Lla-Ssa, and withdrawing altogether from the Tibetan territory, they at first solicited permission to return over the Himalaya into India, which would have been a short and comparatively easy journey. The Resident, however, refused this reasonable request, and compelled them to return through Southern Tibet into China. The journey which would have fallen to the lot of the missionaries, had their demand been acceded to, is, in the main, the same with that described in Dr. Thomson's able and interesting tour. His descriptions of scenery are exceedingly graphic and animated; but the great value of his work lies in the details of botany, geology, mineralogy, and general natural history, in which it abounds. As a companion of Sir VOL. XXXIII .- No. LXVI.

tained a very full account of what used to be one of its most mysterious regions; -a nation which has lived for generations almost entirely shut out from intercourse with At the time when that the rest of the human family. article was written,* we little thought that, before it should be made public, the interest which its subject had been exciting, would have been almost entirely transferred to another empire, whose isolation has been even more complete and more exclusive. And yet so it has been. expedition to Japan recently fitted out by the government of the United States, and the circumstances which have led to it, have opened a new page in the history of the Eastern World; and in the interest which this prospect of a glimpse into Japan has excited, the public have almost begun to forget the kindred wonders of Chinese Tartary and Tibet. We have often thought, nevertheless, that a comparison of the actual condition of two nations like these, whose circumstances have been so similar, and so equally calculated to promote the free development of the respective tendencies and characteristics of both, might furnish a most interesting problem for the historian of the human family. It may seem unreasonable, it is true, to look for a picture of Japanese manners and institutions as complete, as lively, and as reliable, as M, Huc's sketch of Tibet presents; but yet it is really surprising, considering the strict and jealous isolation so long maintained by the Japanese authorities, how abundant and how trustworthy are the materials for a history of this extraordinary people. Few, we are sure, who knew how completely Tibet and its dependencies had been shut out from communion with the rest of the world, were prepared for the minute and circum-

W. Hooker's gorgeous work, Dr. Thomson's detailed description of this interesting region is most seasonable and appropriate.

We may further mention, in continuation of the subject of Tibet, that, as we learn from letters in the current Number of the Annals of the Propagation of the Faith, a fresh band of missionaries are engaged in the heroic enterprise of penetrating into this most interesting field for apostolic labour. These intrepid pioneers of the Gospel have selected for their attempt a point of entrance the very opposite of that chosen by M. Huc. They propose to enter through Bootan; but the latest accounts leave them still upon the frontier. We hope, however, soon to receive more satisfactory details of their progress.

* It was intended for publication in the June number.

stantial information which the enterprise and research of a few casual explorers had amassed; and, although foreigners have been excluded, at least from the interior of Japan, even more successfully than from Tibet, we doubt whether our knowledge of its history, its usages, and its actual condition, be not in all important particulars almost as full and satisfactory. The materials, it is true, are widely dispersed and difficult of access. They are of various dates, and in almost every European language,—Latin, Italian, Portuguese, Spanish, English, Russian, and especially German and Dutch. But they exist, nevertheless; and the well-informed author of the volume which is named at the head of these pages, declares that "taking all these works as a fund of information, we may safely be said to know more of the Japanese than we knew of the Turks a

hundred years ago."

Mr. MacFarlane's Japan, and Captain Golownin's Japan and the Japanese, are the first fruits of the newlyaroused interest in the affairs of that empire. The former work, indeed, has been avowedly compiled for the purpose of satisfying the awakening curiosity of the British public; but although some traces of haste may be detected. in its arrangement, it is, nevertheless, plain, that the subject has long been a familiar one with the author, and that he has had the advantage of a most extensive and judicious collection of materials. We shall avail ourselves freely of the valuable information which his pages supply, without, however, confining ourselves to the order which he has adopted; our concern being chiefly with one portion of the subject—the religion and religious institutions of Japan, especially in their contrast with the strange religious system of Tibet already described, and in the common relation of both to the great Christian doctrines and observances to which they bear so remarkable a resemblance. Of Captain Golownin's narrative we shall make a similar use; but this work is, for its own sake, so curious and so interesting, that we shall premise a short summary of its contents. It is, we should observe, a mere republication of a work which appeared so long back as 1818, and which was a translation from the original Russian narrative, published a short time before.

Captain Golownin, an officer of the Russian navy, was, in the year 1811, sent by his government, in command of the imperial sloop of war, "Diana," ostensibly to survey

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the long chain of islands known as the Kurile Group, which stretches from the southern extremity of Kamtschatka to the great islands that form the Japanese Empire; but, as there is every reason to believe, with the covert design of taking measures towards obtaining for Russia a share in the profitable trade with Japan of which the Dutch had previously enjoyed a monopoly. With the exception of the three southern members of this group of islands, (which are subject to Japan), they are all dependencies of Russia. But, although the islands to be surveyed were Russian, it would be almost impossible to discharge such a commission as that with which Golownin was entrusted, without encroaching on Japanese territory, or coming in some way into contact with the authorities of Japan. A direct friendly understanding for the purpose was out of the question. The difficulties in the way of such an understanding, which would have been almost insuperable for any foreigner, were specially increased for a Russian officer, as Golownin was, by an occurrence which had taken place a few years before his mission. It had chanced, towards the close of the last century, that a Japanese ship was wrecked upon one of the Russian islands. Her crew were saved and conveyed to Irkutzk, where they were treated with great kindness, instructed in the Russian language, and, after a detention of about ten years, sent back to their native country, under charge of an officer named Laxman, who was instructed to make use of this commission as a means of establishing those commercial and friendly relations with the Japanese Empire, which had long been anxiously desired in Russia. This mission, however, proved a complete failure. though Laxman was most courteously received, his overtures were civilly but decidedly rejected. A second more formal embassy, in 1803, entrusted by the emperor Alexander to his chamberlain, Resanoff, proved even more disastrous. Resanoff fared much worse than his predecessor. He was treated most contumeliously. Like the shipwrecked American whalers, whose alleged ill-treatment has led to the projected expedition, he was kept a close prisoner; confined in a bamboo cage upon the beach; and eventually dismissed with a contemptuous message. He was weak enough, however, to allow himself to be provoked into the unworthy retaliation of attacking, with two armed vessels of the Americo-Russian company, one of the

southern Kurile islands belonging to Japan, plundering the villages, and butchering or carrying off as prisoners several of the unoffending inhabitants. Resanoff died before he reached his home; but no official enquiry appears to have been made into his conduct, and no redress or explanation of the outrage to have been offered to the Japanese on the part of the Russian government. The memory of it was still fresh when Golownin appeared; and, to make matters still more unfavourable to his views, circumstances occurred, which, to the suspicious temper of the Japanese, appeared to connect his party with the outrage of Resanoff, for which, notwithstanding their disclaimer, the Japanese naturally held the Russian govern-

ment responsible.

We need hardly say that, in addition to the special difficulties thus created for Captain Golownin, he had to contend against the well-known policy of the Japanese government, which, for the last two hundred years, forbids its subjects, under the severest penalties, either to receive foreigners into the kingdom, or themselves to visit any other country. One single port, that of Nagasaki, is opened to admit two Dutch ships each year, under the most humiliating restrictions; but beyond these two crews. and a few Chinese admitted under similar reservations, any other foreigner landing upon the shores of Japan, even though it should be in ignorance, or by the mere casualty of shipwreck, is liable to perpetual imprisonment. And. as we have already signified, the prohibition is still rigorously enforced. Even within this year, information was received, that a number of American whalers are at this moment actually detained in painful and degrading captivity under its provisions; and it is to procure their release, and, if possible, to effect a mitigation of these exclusive laws, that the expedition which now creates so much interest in the commercial world, has been despatched by the American government.

We must pass over the particulars of Golownin's narrative, although it is one of the most interesting we have read for a long time. It will be enough to say, that having been induced by the representations of some natives of the Russian Kurile islands, and by a half-extorted promise of a favourable reception on the part of the Japanese chief of the island of Ectooroop, to proceed to the island of Kunashier, (which, as well as Ectooroop, form

a portion of the Japanese possessions,) he was, through his own imprudent confidingness, treacherously seized, along with two of his officers, four seamen, and a Kurile islander, named Alexei, who had accompanied them as interpreter. They were immediately placed under the most strict and vigilant watch, and guarded by every device which caution or timidity could suggest. The description of the manner in which they were secured, might furnish some hints for the management of "troublesome" prisoners at home.

"We were conducted into the same tent in which we had held the conference, but neither of the commanders with whom we had communicated were now there. The first thing done was to tie our hands behind our backs, and conduct us into an extensive but low building, which resembled a barrack, and which was situated opposite to the tent in the direction of the shore. Here we were all, except Makaroff (whom we had not seen since our separation,) placed on our knees, and bound in the cruelest manner, with cords about the thickness of a finger: and as though this were not enough, another binding with smaller cords followed, which was still more painful. The Japanese are exceedingly expert at this work; and it would appear that they conform to some precise regulation in binding their prisoners, for we were all tied exactly There were the same number of knots and in the same manner. nooses, and all at equal distances, on the cords with which each of us was bound. There were loops round our breasts and necks; our elbows almost touched each other, and our hands were firmly bound together: from these fastenings proceeded a long cord, the end of which was held by a Japanese, and which on the slightest attempt to escape required only to be drawn to make the elbows come in contact, with the greatest pain, and to tighten the noose about the neck to such a degree as almost to produce strangulation. Besides all this, they tied our legs in two places, above the knees, and above the ankles: they then passed ropes from our necks over the cross-beams of the building, and drew them so tight that we found it impossible to move. Their next operation was searching our pockets, out of which they took everything, and then proceeded very tranquilly to smoke tobacco. While they were binding us, the lieutenant-governor showed himself twice, and pointed to his mouth, to intimate, perhaps, that it was intended to feed us, not to kill us." —Vol. I. pp. 87-8.

Even when it was decided that they should be transferred to the more important port of Matsmai, in the island of Yeso, these singular precautions were but partially relaxed; and, during the whole journey, each of them was watched by a guard of two soldiers; one of whom led him

along by the end of the cord with which his arms were secured, and the other, fully armed, walked abreast of him as he marched along. These restraints, however. were evidently the result of excessive timidity, and not of cruelty; and it would further appear that they were less intended to prevent the escape of the prisoners, than to guard against their attempting to commit suicide, which would be the ordinary resource of a Japanese in similar To such a length, indeed, were these precircumstances. cautions against the prisoners' committing suicide carried, that, at first, their hands were secured even during mealtime, and they were literally fed like infants, the Japanese conveying the food to their mouths with chop-sticks! At a later period of their captivity, when they wished to have their nails pared, they were not permitted the use of a knife or of scissors for the purpose, but were required to stretch their hands through the bars of their cage, in order that the operation might be performed for them by one of the attendants! When they were allowed the luxury of smoking, it was only on the condition that the pipe should be held in the hands of one of the guards, lest they should attempt to thrust it down their throats; and when, at last, the superintendent consented to relax this caution, he contrived to secure himself against any possible abuse of the indulgence, by fixing upon the tube a round wooden ball, about the size of an egg, which rendered any such attempt absolutely impracticable!

From Kunashier they were conducted by a most painful journey, partly on foot, partly in a sort of litter, the motion of which was exceedingly distressing, and partly in boats which were dragged along the beach and frequently carried overland for a considerable distance, to a village called Chakolade, where they were lodged in a very curious prison, especially, it would seem, erected for their safe keeping. The description of this structure is

worth transcribing.

"On the first view of our prison, we thought we should never again behold the light of the sun; for, though the weather was fine, and the sky bright when we entered, we found darkness had already commenced in this dismal abode, where no cheering ray seemed to penetrate. The place of our confinement, the fence which surrounded the yard, and the sentry-boxes, were all so recently finished, that the workmen had not time to remove their chips. The prison was a quadrangular wooden

building, twenty-five paces long, fifteen broad, and twelve feet high. Three sides were complete wall, without any aperture whatever; but the south side was formed of strong spars, four inches square, and placed at the distance of four inches from each other. On the side which consisted of these spars, there was a gate and a little door, both of which were, however, kept fast locked. In the middle were two cages, formed of spars, similar to those on the southside of the prison. These cages were so placed, as to leave a passage between each, and also passages between them and the walls of the prison. One cage was six paces square, and ten feet high; the other was of the same breadth and height, but was eight paces long. We three officers were put into the former; the sailors and Alexei were confined in the latter. The entrance to the cage was so low, that we were obliged to creep into it. The door was formed of massive spars, and was formed of a strong iron bolt. Above the door was a small hole, through which our food was handed to us. A small water-closet was constructed in the further end of each The sides of the cage next each other were placed in such a manner that we could see the sailors, though they could not perceive us; a screen was also placed between the closets, for the purpose of obstructing the view from the one to the other. A guardroom was constructed against the spars which formed the entrance side of the prison, and which was occupied by two soldiers in the service of the imperial government, who were constantly on duty: they could see us all, and they seldom turned their eyes away from The whole building was surrounded at the distance of from six to eight paces by a high wall or fence, with sharp pointed wooden stakes, and in this fence there was a door exactly opposite that of the prison. Around the first wall was a second, but less high fence, enclosing a considerable space, within which were, on one side of the gate of the great wall, the cooking-room and an apartment for the servants, and, on the other side, a guard-house. The outer guard consisted of soldiers belonging to the Prince of Tzyngar. These soldiers were not allowed to come near us, nor even to pass within the first fence; but they patrolled the rounds every half During the night they had lights and fires, and they struck the hours with two boards. The imperial soldiers, on the contrary, visited us every half hour, walked round our cages, and looked through the spars. The whole structure was situated between an abrupt and deep hollow, through which a stream flowed, and the rampart of the castle, from which it was separated by a road of no great breadth. At night this prison was horribly dismal. We had no fire; a night-lamp, supplied with fresh oil, and placed in a paper lantern, was kept burning in the guard room, but the feeble glimmering light which it shed between the spars was scarcely capable of rendering any object visible to us. The clanking noise caused every half hour by the moving of the locks and bolts, when the soldiers inspected us, rendered this gloomy place still more dismal

and did not allow us to enjoy a moment's repose."—Vol. I., pp. 163-5.

From Chakolade they were transferred to Matsmai. The details of their imprisonment there are exceedingly curious, and highly characteristic of the extraordinary people among whom they had fallen. They were subjected to endless interrogations, continued at frequent intervals; their answers were carefully noted at each examination; these answers were afterwards most jealously compared with each other; and the very slightest appearance of discrepancy would suffice to furnish ground for serious suspicion. After a time, however, the severity of their treatment was relaxed; and indeed their guards, and all the others, who, in various ways, came into communication with them, appear always to have observed the utmost courtesy, saving only in the single particular of the jealous vigilance with which they watched every movement.

During their first imprisonment in Chakolade, Captain Golownin, being debarred from all use of writing materials, was obliged to have recourse to a very primitive sort of journal. He provided three threads, one white, which he drew from the frill of his shirt, a second black, similarly taken from his kerchief, and a third green, from the lining of his uniform. By knots on these several threads; -on the white, when the event to be recorded was agreeable; on the black, when it was unpleasant; and on the green, when it was indifferent;—he contrived to register every important occurrence which befel; and, by frequent rehearsal, he strove to fix in his memory the signification of each of these singular mnemonics. But soon after their transfer to Matsmai, these restrictions were removed. Not alone paper, pens, and ink, but also books, were freely supplied; and, far from being debarred of their use, they were overpowered with petitions from the officers, the guards, and their friends, for drawings, specimens of writing, and similar memorials, which, although never demanded as a right, but, on the contrary, always asked for with the utmost courtesy and politeness, they thought it advisable not to refuse, although their complaisance was often taxed beyond the limits of all ordinary endurance. These compliances led to a still further indulgence. young man of much intelligence, named Teske, was brought to them to be instructed in Russian; and by the rapid progress which he made in that language, and the corresponding advance on their part in Japanese, their intercourse with the officials of the government, as well as with their guards and visitors, was much facilitated. The result was a considerable increase of confidence on the part of the authorities. In the month of March, 1812, they were permitted to walk through the town with a guard, and, after a time, they were removed from the cage-like prison, to a private house, surrounded by strong pallisades.

Soon after this removal, they succeeded in effecting an escape, by burrowing beneath the pallisades, their purpose being to seize a boat upon the shore, and make their way to the Asiatic continent; but failing of this object, after wandering about for more than a week, they were again taken prisoners, and marched back to Matsmai. It is curious that no anger was exhibited at this attempt to escape; but the prisoners were again subjected to the

same restrictions as before.

Meanwhile they had not been entirely forgotten; Captain Golownin's shipmates in the "Diana," having vainly attempted to approach sufficiently near the shore, to effect his forcible release, had returned to Russia, and laid a report of the occurrence before the government; but, owing to the embarrassed condition of the political affairs of that disastrous period, it was a considerable time before the matter was taken up efficiently; nor was it till the eighteenth of August, 1813, that the release of the prisoners was ultimately effected, partly by negotiation, partly by working upon the fears of the Japanese.

For all the particulars of these events, however, we must refer to the narrative itself; merely adding, that besides this narrative, the work contains a collection of miscellaneous *Recollections of Japan*, from Golownin's own pen, founded upon the information communicated to him by his guards, interpreters, and visitors during his captivity, eked out by compilations from Kämpfer, Thunberg, and others of the older voyagers. These *Recollections*, although loosely and unskilfully arranged, will be found to possess

very considerable interest.

The edict by which all foreigners are excluded from the Japanese territory, dates from the year 1637, and is still one of the standing laws of the empire.

"In the course of the year 1831, a Japanese junk was blown off the coast into the Pacific Ocean, and, after drifting for a long time,

was cast ashore in America, near the mouth of the Columbia river. [This incident alone may help to show how the West may have been peopled from the East-how the population of the New World may have sprung from that of the Old. The poor castaways were kindly treated, and after four years of varied adventures, they were conducted to Macao, where they were taken care of by the English and Americans. It was reasonably supposed, by those who did not know the imperial decree of 1637, or who could not conceive that that decree would still influence the conduct of the Japanese authorities, that to carry the poor people back to their own country, would be a good and sufficient reason for appearing at Japan. American merchantman, called the 'Morison,' was excellently equipped for the purpose; but, unfortunately, her guns and armament were taken out of her, as a recommendation to the confidence of the Japanese. This very circumstance became the cause of her unceremonious expulsion and bad treatment. The defenceless ship, with a medical missionary on board to administer to the sick, reached the Bay of Jeddo. The first care of the officers who visited her from shore was to inspect her keenly, and ascertain her strength by rowing round and peering in at the sides. When it was discovered that she was wholly unarmed, the greatest contempt and insolence were betrayed by these official visitors, and early the next morning the 'Morrison' was saluted by a discharge of shotted guns from the shore, at very short distance. Badly as the guns were directed, their point-blank range, and the unarmed condition of the ship, made it necessary to weigh anchor with all speed. The Americans then ran westward to the neighbourhood of Kagosima, the principal town of the island of Kiutsu, or Kewsew, where they anchored in a deep and spacious bay.

"Mr. C. W. King, a highly respectable merchant of New York, conducted the negotiations with tact, good humour, and ability. On his arrival in the port, he prepared a paper to be laid before the emperor. 'The American vessels,' said he, 'sail faster than those of other nations. If permitted to have intercourse with Japan, they will communicate always the latest intelligence......Our countrymen have not yet visited your honourable country, but only know that, in old times, the merchants of all nations were admitted to your harbours. Afterwards, having transgressed the law, they were restricted or expelled. Now we, coming for the first time, and not having done wrong, request permission to carry on a friendly inter-

course on the ancient footing.'

"The natives seemed very friendly, and it was thought at first that the negotiations for landing the shipwrecked Japanese was in a fair train; but, after a period of uncertainty, striped canvas cloths were seen stretched along the shore. Their Japanese passengers, in great dismay, told the Americans that these were warlike preparations; lines of this cloth repeated, one in the rear of the other, being used to deaden the effect of shot, and to conceal

the gunners. The anchor was again weighed, when a battery on shore opened savagely on the defenceless ship. Nothing was left for it but to return to Macao with the shipwrecked people. On these circumstances being recalled to the mind of the Japanese authorities at Nagasaki, by Captain Sir Edward Belcher, they merely said, 'We never allow any Japanese to return under such circumstances. We sent a junk-full back to the Emperor of China,

and he is our ally.".....

"In the same year, 1845, three Japanese were carried to Ningpo, in China, by the American frigate 'St. Louis.' These three men nad been blown or drifted right across the Atlantic, in a little junk, from the coast of Japan, all the way to Mexico, where they had remained two years. The Chinese authorities were ready and willing to return these men to their native country, by the annual junks, which go from Cheepoo to Nagasaki; but one of the Japanese objected, on the ground of personal fear of the consequences to himself. No doubt the poor fellow knew the law of 1637. It is astonishing that such a law—a law punishing misfortune as crime, and repelling men who ought to be endeared by their perils and adventures, and who would be welcomed back and cherished by every other country in the world—should continue to be pitilessly enforced; but such, it appears, is the fact."—pp. 104-9.

· It would carry us beyond the scope of this article, to enter into the question as to the causes which led to We need hardly remind the reader, that its enactment. for a considerable time after the discovery of Japan, the most unrestricted intercourse was permitted to Europeans, and even courted by the Japanese authorities. The miraculous success which attended the first preaching of St. Francis Xavier and his companions, is well known; and even after his departure the Christian religion continued for many years to make way among the Japanese. The blame of having brought about so complete a revolution of feeling, that every approach to intercourse with Europeans has become a subject of suspicion and terror to the Japanese government, and the very name of Christianity, or its emblem, is regarded with abhorrence and contempt, is mutually cast upon each other, by the Dutch and the Portuguese writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. There can be little doubt that the truth lies between them; that both nations must be held responsible for a share of the disgrace; and that their mutual jealousies, dissensions, and animosities, contributed, quite as much as the individual crimes of either, to render the name and profession of Christianity hate-

ful in Japan. But the gross and sweeping imputations made by the Dutch writers, and echoed by almost all Protestant authorities, against the religious orders among the Portuguese are, beyond all doubt, shameful exaggerations. Mr. MacFarlane avows his belief that, as applied to the missionaries, these charges are without foundation (p. 42.); and mainly attributes the downfal of their power among the Japanese to the stern, and perhaps imprudent, zeal with which they set themselves against the prevailing national sin of incontinence, (p. 39.) and the gross superstitions of idol-worship. (p. 42.) That the Dutch fostered the antipathies against the missionaries, created among the Japanese by these imprudences, --it may have been in a spirit of retaliation-no possible doubt can be entertained. They went even further; and, not content with procuring the expulsion of the Catholic missionaries, and of all the foreign Christians, actually assisted the Japanese authorities in their war of extermination against the unhappy native converts to Christianity. This charge has been repelled by their own writers; but Mr. MacFarlane entertains no doubt of its truth.

"The fact is admitted by all their own countrymen who have written about Japan, from their first writers in the middle of the seventeenth century, down to the year 1833. M. Fischer, the very last on the list, says that the Dutch were compelled to join in the persecution against the stubborn remnant of that Christian host. Others would soften the matter by saying that the Dutch only supplied the heathen Japanese with gunpowder and guns, taught them a little artillery practice, and sent ammunition, arms, and troops in their ships to the scene of action. But Kämpfer, who was only a German in the Dutch service, most distinctly and positively assures us that the Christian traders acted as auxiliaries and belligerents. The stronghold of the native Christians was an old fortified place, which the emperor's troops could not take.

"The Dutch, upon this, as friends and allies of the emperor, were requested to assist the Japanese in the siege...M. Kockebecker, who was then director of the Dutch trade and nation, having received the emperor's orders to this purpose, repaired thither without delay, on board a Dutch ship lying at anchor in the harbour of Firando, (all the other ships, perhaps upon some intimation given, that some such request was like to be made to them from court, set sail but the day before), and within a fortnight's time he battered the old town with 426 cannon-balls, both from on board his ship and from a battery which was raised on shore, and planted

with some of his own guns. This compliance of the Dutch, and their conduct during the siege, was entirely to the satisfaction of the Japanese, and although the besieged seemed in no manner of forwardness to surrender, yet, as by this cannonading they had been very much reduced in number, and their strength greatly broken, M. Kockebecker had leave at last to depart, after they had obliged him to land six more of his guns for the use of the

emperor.

"A recent writer, a right-hearted and right-minded American, says,—'The walls of Simabara were unquestionably battered by the Dutch cannon, and its brave defenders were slaughtered. Some apology might be made for this co-operation at the siege of Simabara, had its defenders been the countrymen of Alva, or Requesens, or John of Austria, or Alexander Farnese. But truth requires that the measures of Kockebecker should be regarded as the alternative, which he deliberately preferred to the interruption of the Dutch

trade.

"It appears that the siege was converted into a long and close blockade, and that when the indomitable converts of Xavier were reduced, and in good part exterminated by famine, a storm and an atrocious massacro ensued, none being spared, because none would recant and beg quarter; but men, women, and children being all butchered in heaps. In this war of religion, according to the most moderate estimate, there fell on both sides 40,000 men. According to the papirits, the number of native Christians alone was far greater than this, and all the atrocities and horrors of the Diocletian persecution were repeated, exaggerated, and prolonged. The magnitude of the holocaust does indeed afford some measure of the depth and tenacity with which Christianity, in its Roman form, had struck its roots into the soil."—pp. 49—52.

As the reward of this mean and unholy service, the Dutch have since possessed the exclusive privilege of sending two ships yearly to the port of Nagasaki, but under most painful and humiliating restrictions. Japanese who are employed in the service of the Dutch, or who, either in the necessary intercourse of trade, or in any other way come into contact with them, are bound "once, twice, and even three times a year, to take a solemn oath of hatred and renunciation of the Christian religion, and, at least at one of these ceremonies, they are made to trample under foot crosses and crucifixes, with the image of the Redeemer upon them." (p. 57.) MacFarlane, moreover, evidently inclines to the belief of the imputation cast upon the Dutch themselves, of having, at least at some former time, shared in this impious and abominable abjuration.

"The Portuguese, when driven to despair through their hated rivals, nearly involved the Dutch in their own ruin by announcing to the imperial government that they were Christians like themselves. It behaved the Dutch to convince the Japanese that there was the widest difference between them; that they belonged to a sect quite hostile to that of the Portuguese; that they hated Pope, Jesuits, Franciscans, Dominicans, and all manner of monks and priests. We can, therefore, easily credit that, if put by the Japanese government to that test, the Dutchmen would not much scruple to trample upon the cross in the manner described by Voltaire. A bigotted Presbyterian would even find a pleasure in so doing. An old Nangasakian joke is, that a Dutchman, at the time of the great persecution, being surprised in some place by the Japanese police, and being asked whether he were a Christian, replied, 'No! I am a Dutchman.' We fear, indeed, that after any lengthened residence in the country, such religion as these Dutchmen carried with them was almost wholly evaporated. The life led in their prison at Nagasaki was little calculated to foster devotional feelings. Kämpfer says that in his time they lived like a set of heathers,—that the principles of Christianity were so little conspicuous in their lives and actions, that the Japanese were absurd in fearing that they would attempt the conversion of the heathens. But good and religious men have gone through this ordeal without any detriment to their faith or to their morals; so let not these remarks be taken as uncharitable, or as disrespectful to the Dutch."-pp. 57-59.

It is impossible to suppress a feeling of satisfaction in learning that this base and mercenary compliance, if it has had the effect of securing to the Dutch a paltry commercial advantage, has also earned for them, even by the avowal of their own writers, the contempt of the very people to whose prejudices they are sordid enough to pander. (p. 53.) The insult, indignity, suspicion, and distrust, with which they have been treated for generations, are such as no amount of pecuniary advantage could tempt a right-minded people to brook; and although some modifications of this treatment have been obtained in latter years, yet there is still more than we could have believed it possible, in these days of progress, for even Dutch phlegm to suffer in pa-The Chinese, although they also are regarded with great suspicion, have succeeded in retaining the same commercial privileges as the Dutch; but the attempts of all other nations, down to the very latest times, to establish even the most limited intercourse, have all proved, without any exception, signally, and often disastrously, unsuccessful. Let us hope that the American expedition already referred to may lead to better results.

It is difficult to account for these narrow and contracted laws in a nation so cultivated, and enjoying so universally the advantages of education, as the Japanese are represented to be. Nearly every individual is able to read and write; and it was a subject of the utmost astonishment to the soldiers who were charged with the surveillance of Golownin and his companions, that, of the four Russian sailors, not one was able to write. In Japan every person in that grade, as a matter of course, would possess that accomplishment.

Even in the higher branches of science Captain Golow-

nin found their acquirements very respectable.

"The academician employed himself in translating from the Russian a work on arithmetic, published at Petersburgh for the use of public schools. It had been brought to Japan by Kodia, a Japanese whom Laxman conveyed back to his native country in 1792. In explaining the arithmetical rules, we soon observed that the academician possessed considerable knowledge of the subject, and that he only wished to be made acquainted with the Russian demonstrations. I was curious to know how far his knowledge of mathematics extended, and frequently conversed with him on matters connected with that science. But as our interpreters entertained not the slightest notion of the subject, I found it impossible to make all the enquiries I wished. I will, however, state a few circumstances, which may enable the reader to form some idea of the state of mathematical knowledge among the Japanese. The academician once asked me, whether the Russians, like the Dutch, reckoned time according to the new style. When I replied that the Russians reckoned by the old style, he requested me to explain to him the distinction between the old and new styles, and what occasioned the difference between them, which I accordingly did. He then observed, that the new mode of reckoning was by no means exact, because, after a certain number of centuries, a difference of twenty-four hours would again arise. I readily perceived that he questioned me merely to discover how far I was informed on a subject with which he was perfectly familiar. The Japanese consider the Copernican the true system of the universe. The orbit and satellites of Uranus are known to them, but they know nothing of the planets more recently discovered.

"Mr. Chlebnikoff employed himself in the calculation of logarithms, of natural sines and tangents, and other tables connected with navigation, which he completed after incredible labour and application. When the academician was shown these tables, he immediately recognized the logarithms, and drew a figure to convince us that he was also acquainted with the nature of the sines

and tangents."-Vol. ii. pp. 11-12.

Their method of demonstrating mathematical propositions, however, at least if we may judge from a single specimen, appears to be rather primitive.

"In order to ascertain whether the Japanese knew how to demonstrate geometrical truths, I asked whether they were perfectly convinced that in a right-angled triangle the square of the hypothenuse is equal to the squares of the other two sides? He answered in the affirmative. I then asked how they were certain of this fact, and in reply he demonstrated it very clearly. Having drawn a figure with a pair of compasses on paper, he cut out the three squares, folded the squares of the two short sides into a number of triangles, and also cut out these triangles; then laying the several triangles on the surface of the large square, he made them exactly cover and fit it."—Golownin, vol. ii. p. 12.

The national character of the Japanese does not seem to have deteriorated since the days of St. Francis Xavier and his companions, by whom it was depicted in the most amiable colours. They are still gentle, courteous, obliging, and respectful in their intercourse with one another, and even with foreigners, in so far as intercourse with them is permitted. Quarrelling in public is almost unknown. Their transactions with Golownin and his party were marked by the most scrupulous honesty, even in the merest trifles; and although a part of this honesty may certainly have been attributable to the fear of their own government, yet there were also cases in which it was entirely beyond this suspicion. Their conduct in public, indeed, is in all respects extremely decorous. Although the common people are exceedingly fond of drinking, yet public intemperance is very rare. In their domestic relations, too, corrupted though they are, not, it is true, by polygamy, but by the still more withering curse of legalized concubinage, there is yet much to admire. Instances of the violation of conjugal chastity on the part of the females, are said to be almost absolutely unknown. respect and obedience of the children to parents is strongly enforced; and although the shocking practice of infanticide, which is so disgracefully prevalent among the Chinese, is found also in some of the Japanese cities, yet it is rigorously, although inefficiently, prohibited by the law; and, in general, the affection of the parents for their children is described as very great. The great national vice of Japan is incontinence. Prostitution is protected by the law, and is carried on upon a scale unexampled in any VOL, XXXIII,-No. LXVI.

other country. Some of the brothels contain as many as six hundred inmates! And yet, as if the instincts of virtue were silently recognized even in the midst of this fearful corruption, the proprietors of these receptacles of sin, although regularly protected by law, ranking among the legalised professions, and, in many cases, loaded with guilty wealth, are yet suffered to die overwhelmed with disgrace. Their bodies are refused the common honours of burial. In the clothes in which they have died, they are dragged by a bridle of straw, (to indicate, probably, their brutalized condition,) not to the ordinary place of interment, but to the nearest dung-heap, to be devoured by the dogs and birds of prey!

The hatred of the Japanese for all foreign customs has been already observed; and it is made more striking by the strange opposition which exists between some of their own customs and the analogous usages of Europe. With them, for example, black is the colour of joy—white, that of mourning. Unlike us, their practice is to go abroad in their meanest dress, and to reserve for wearing in their own homes the expensive robes of ceremony in which they delight. Many of the discrepancies in the minor details

of usage are very amusing.

We cannot enter as fully as we should desire into the religious condition of this extraordinary empire. Neither of the works now before us contains a satisfactory exposition of the theology of any of the numerous systems tolerated in Japan. We shall transcribe the brief account given by Golownin.

"The prevailing religion of Japan is derived from India, as the Japanese themselves admit, and is a branch of the religion of the Brahmins; but millions, perhaps the greater part of the people, follow other religious doctrines, which cannot properly be called sects, as they are not branches of the prevailing religion, and have quite another origin. The Japanese with whom we conversed on the articles of their belief, did not agree respecting the number of different forms of religion among them. Some said there were seven; and others affirmed that there were only four; three of the seven being merely sects, formed from the four principal religions.

"These four religions are :-

"1. The most ancient religion in Japan, which is followed by the aboriginal inhabitants of the empire. Though now much corrupted, and no longer the prevailing religion of the people, yet it claims priority of notice on account of its antiquity. The adherents of this religion believe they have a preference before the rest, because they adore the ancient peculiar divinities called Kami; that is, the immortal spirits, or children of the highest being, who are very numerous. They also adore and pray to saints, who have distinguished themselves by a life agreeable to heaven through uncommon piety and religious zeal. They build temples to these saints, who are called Chadotschi. It would appear, however, that they have not all obtained this honour by their virtuous life and their piety; some among them, as the Japanese themselves assured us, obtained their reputation of sanctity by the intrigues of the clergy for their own advantage. The spiritual emperor is the head and the high priest of this religion; he is the judge of men upon earth, and names those who are to be received among the number of the saints.

"Personal cleanliness is one of the chief and indispensable rules of this religion, the followers of which are not permitted to kill or to eat animals employed for work, or in domestic services. Thus, they must not eat beef, but they eat poultry, deer, hares, and even bears; they are also permitted to feed upon fish, and all kinds of marine animals. They must avoid staining themselves with blood, as this may defile them for a certain time. Touching a corpse, nay, entering a house in which there is a dead person, defiles them for a number of days, more or less, according to circumstances; they therefore take all possible precautions to avoid defiling themselves

in any of these ways.

"This religion has a sect who eat no land animal, but only sea animals and fish; to this sect some of our guards belonged. Several of them often ate deer and bears' flesh with us; others, on the contrary, upon the days when meat was set before us, would not even light their pipes at the same fire with us. At other times they would smoke out of our pipes, give us theirs, nay, even drank their tea out of the cups which we had used. At first, I believed they were adherents of different religions, but learned afterwards that the difference merely consisted in some particular rules adopted by the sect, the principal of which is, prohibition to eat the flesh of any land animal.

"2. The religion derived from the Brahmins, transplanted from India to Japan. In Japan it also teaches the transmigration of souls, or that the souls of men and animals are identical in their kind, and that they sometimes animate the bodies of men and sometimes those of animals. The followers of this religion are therefore forbidden to kill anything that has life. Theft, adultery, falsehood, and drunkenness are also strictly forbidden. These commandments are truly good, but all the other rules in respect to abstinence and way of life, which the adherents of this faith must observe, are so absurd and difficult, that there are probably few who are pious, and at the same time strong enough to go through one half of what this religion enjoins. On this account there are

more bad people, as well among the clergy as among the laymen, in this religion, than in any other in Japan.

"3. The religion of the Chinese, as it is called in Japan, or the doctrine of Confucius, which is highly esteemed by the Japanese. The greater part of the Japanese men of learning and philosophers,

follow this doctrine.

"4. The adoration of the heavenly bodies. In this worship, the sun is considered the highest divinity; next follow the moon and stars. Almost every constellation forms a separate divinity. These divinities are sometimes supposed to be adverse to each other, and sometimes at peace; now forming alliances by marriage, and now seeking to outwit and to injure each other; in short, they have all human weaknesses, and live like men, only with the difference that they are immortal, and assume any shape they please. This religion gave origin to a sect who worship fire, and consider it as a divinity derived from the sun."—Vol. ii. pp. 105—108.

Golownin, however, admits that his information in these particulars was very vague and imperfect. The replies of the Japanese on the subject of religion were reluctantly given, and often studiedly unsatisfactory; and very often the conversation was abruptly discontinued or changed to a less critical subject, as soon as any religious enquiry was

introduced by the Russians.

From other sources, however, we are enabled to supply a portion of what, in this account, is defective and unsatisfactory. Although a great variety of religious opinions are tolerated, and a general indifference on the subject prevails throughout Japan, nevertheless it is plain that the popular religion of the country is but an off-shoot of the one grand system, which, as explained in a former article, is found, variously modified by local or natural characteristics, throughout the entire of that vast region of the East, over which, at different periods, the civilization of which ancient India was the centre, has made itself known. The popular religion of Japan contains all the essential features of the Buddhism of India, though overlaid by many strange, and in some respects irreconcileable peculiarities. The notion of a metempsychosis is discoverable in many of the practices of the people, even of those among them who, in terms, reject the idea; and the doctrine of the incarnation of Buddha, and of his perpetual subsistence, although not so broadly asserted as in the system of the Lamas of Tibet, is yet plainly the foundation of the prerogatives which are attached to the office of the Mikado, or "Spiritual Emperor" of Japan; -one of the most curious institutions of the country, and one which bears a strong analogy to the Talé Lama of Tibet; in all except that the Japanese official is now a mere cypher in the hands of the temporal Emperor, whereas the authority of the Lama is supreme

at least in theory.

"These emperor-theocrats, called in the language of the country Mikados, claimed to rule by divine right and inheritance. They were high priests as well as kings; they were held as representatives of the gods upon earth, and like gods they were worshipped. No subject ever addressed them except on his knees. They were thoroughly despotic; and even after they had ceased to head their own armies, and intrusted the military command to sons and kinsmen, their power long remained undisputed and uncontrolled. 'Even to this day,' says Kämpfer, 'the princes descended from the family, more particularly those who sit on the throne, are looked upon as persons most holy in themselves, and as Popes by birth. And, in order to preserve these advantageous notions in the minds of their subjects, they are obliged to take uncommon care of their sacred persons, and to do such things, which, examined according to the customs of other nations, would be thought ridiculous and impertinent. It will not be improper to give a few instances. The ecclesiastical emperor thinks that it would be very prejudicial to his dignity and holiness to touch the ground with his feet; for this reason, when he wants to go anywhere, he must be carried thither on men's shoul-Much less will they suffer, that he should expose his sacred person to the open air; and the sun is not thought worthy to shine on his head. There is such a holiness ascribed to all parts of the body, that he dares to cut off neither his hair, nor his beard, nor his. nails. However, lest he should grow too dirty, they may clean him in the night when he is asleep; because, they say, that what is taken from his body at that time hath been stolen from him, and that such a theft does not prejudice his holiness or dignity. In ancient times, he was obliged to sit on the throne for some hours every morning, with the imperial crown on his head, but to sit altogether like a statue, without stirring either hands or feet, head or eyes, nor indeed any part of his body, because, by this means, it was thought that he could preserve peace and tranquillity in his empire; for if, unfortunately, he turned himself on one side or the other, or if he looked a good while towards any part of his dominions, it was apprehended that war, famine, fire, or some other great misfortune, was near at hand to desolate the country. But it having been afterwards discovered, that the imperial crown was the palladium, which, by its immobility, could preserve peace in the empire, it was though expedient to deliver his imperial person, consecrated only to idleness and pleasure, from this burthensome duty, and therefore the crown, alone, is at present placed on the throne for several hours every morning. His victuals must be dressed every time in new pots, and served at

table in new dishes; both are very clean and neat, but made only of common clay, that, without any considerable expense, they may be laid aside or broken, after they have served once. They are generally broken for fear they should come into the hands of laymen; for they believe, religiously, that if any layman should presume to eat his food out of these sacred dishes, it would swell and inflame his mouth and throat. The like ill-effect is dreaded from the Daïri's sacred habits; for they believe that if a layman should wear them, without the emperor's express leave or command, they would occasion pains in all parts of his body."—MacFarlane, pp. 171—173.

These notions of the peculiar and mysterious holiness of his person are clearly of the same origin as in the case of the Lama, and they manifest themselves in observances of the same general character. The seclusion of the Mikado is even more complete than that of his Tibetian brother. There is but one public exhibition of his person in the year, on occasion of the great Japanese festival; when the Mikado walks in a gallery open from below, so that each one can approach and see his feet! Still, there are very ' many striking discrepancies between the office of the Lama and that of the Spiritual Emperor. The Japanese dignity is not elective, as that of Tibet, but hereditary. The Mikado, therefore, is not bound like the Talé Lama, to celibacy, but, on the contrary, is supplied with no less than twelve wives, that there may not be any danger of a failure of male issue. Nor is there in Japan the same strange notion of the multiplication of the presence of Buddha, which is shadowed forth in Tibet by the number of living Buddhas who are believed to exist simultaneously, and one of whom is honoured in almost every great Lamasery in the kingdom.

The same analogy with Buddhism is traceable in other parts of the Japanese system. The excellency of virginity is recognized in many of the religious institutions of Japan. The priests, as a class, are bound to its observance. The monastic profession, too, is held in high estimation. Monasteries of both sexes are sufficiently numerous throughout the country, though in some of these the observance of celibacy is practically relaxed. Some of the members, too, like the vagabond Lamas, lead wandering and idle lives; and, what is entirely unknown to Tibet, there is a class of vagrant and mendicant religious women, who are to be met in all quarters, and whose character, although they are vowed to religion, appears to be worse

than equivocal. Many of the Japanese ceremonies, too, present at least a general analogy.

"I am not able to describe from my own observation any of the religious ceremonies of the Japanese, because they never could be induced to allow us to enter their temples during divine service; nor did they even speak of it. The little I know of it, and which I learned from our interpreters and others, is as follows. The prayers are repeated three times in the day-at daybreak, two hours before noon, and before sunset. The people are informed of the hours of prayer by the ringing of a bell. The mode in which the ringing is performed is curious. After the first stroke of the bell half a minute elapses, then comes the second stroke, the third succeeds rather quicker, the fourth quicker still, then follow several strokes in very rapid succession. After the lapse of two minutes, all is repeated over again in the same order, In two minutes more the ringing is performed for the third time, and then it ends. In front of the temples there are basins made of stone or metal, containing water, in which the Japanese wash their hands before they enter. Before the images of the saint, lamps or candles are kept burning; they are made of train oil, and the bituminous juice of a tree, which grows in the southern and middle parts of Niphon. The Japanese offer to the gods natural or artificial flowers. The latter are made of coloured ribbons, or of paper. These flowers are hung before the images of saints, on the walls of the temples, and sometimes on the images themselves. Those who are very zealous in their devotions offer money, fruits, rice, and other gifts, which are very welcome to the servants of the temples. But these voluntary donations are not deemed sufficient, and the servants of the temples wander about the towns, villages, and highways, demanding offerings for their gods, and carrying sacks upon their shoulders to contain the gifts they They also sing hymns, deliver addresses, or ring a little bell, which every one has fastened to his girdle. In our walks about Matsmai, we often met them. During divine service the Japanese kneel with their heads bowed down, and their hands folded. When they repeat their prayers, they press their hands together, raise them so to their foreheads, incline their bodies several times, and pray in an under tone."-Golownin, vol. ii. рр. 112—113.

Their practices of penance, also, are much of the same character as those of Tibet; and, what is exceedingly curious, the Japanese have a contrivance for the vicarious discharge of these penances, very similar to the well-known Prayer-mills of the Tibetian Lamas. At the spots consecrated to peculiar divinities, posts are erected, in the grooves of which are inserted flat wheels of iron turning upon an axle. On each of these plates is inscribed a

prayer to the god to whom the spot is sacred; and those who set the plate spinning round as they pass, are presumed to repeat the prayer as often as it has revolved under

the impulse which they had imparted!

ties."-(ii. 110.)

The practice of pilgrimages, too, prevails in Japan, to the same, or possibly, to a greater extent than in Tibet. There are no fewer than twenty shrines in different parts of the empire, which are visited as places of devotion; and around the chief of these have been formed establishments similar to the great Lamaseries of Tibet. The most important of these is that of Isye, sacred to Ten-sio-dai-zin. the Sun-goddess. The principal temple of this holy place is surrounded by nearly a hundred smaller ones, each served by a separate priest. Of these priests, however, Golownin received a very unfavourable account. "For the most part," it was told him, "the priests are licentious men; and although the laws command them to live temperately, to eat neither meat nor fish-to drink no wine and have no wives; yet in spite of these prohibitions, they live very intemperately, seduce women, and commit other enormi-

It would be easy to multiply these and similar general analogies; and we doubt not that if our acquaintance with the finer shades of Japanese manners and usages were as minute as, thanks to M. Huc's graphic pen, it is with those of Tibet, the resemblances of detail would prove equally curious and interesting. But for the present the interest excited on the subject of Japan is either commercial or scientific, rather than religious, in its character; nor can any sudden change be expected. We trust, however, that the time is not far distant when the mystery and uncertainty which still prevail regarding many of the most important characteristics of the religion of Japan, will be satisfactorily cleared up. It is impossible that the reopening of this important country can be much longer delayed. In the anticipation of that auspicious time, a vicar apostolic has been already appointed by the Holy See; and is actually at this moment awaiting some favourable opportunity of penetrating into the country; and we cannot repress our humble hope that when these happy circumstances shall again arise, the Church will find in him another Xavier, at the head of a fresh band of sainted associates, to share his holy labours, and to rejoice over the same blessed success.

- ART. II.—1. Wellingtoniana: Anecdotes, Maxims, and Opinions of the Duke of Wellington. By John Timbs. Crown 8vo. London: Ingram and Cooke, 1852.
- Memoir of the Duke of Wellington. 16mo. London: Longmans, 1852.
- 3. Life of Arthur, Duke of Wellington. By Sir James Alexander. 2 vols, 8vo. London, 1840.
- Life of the Duke of Wellington. By J. H. MAXWELL. 3 vols. 8vo. London: Bohn, 1850.
- Historia del Levantamiento, Guerra, y Revolucion de Espana, desde 1808 hasta 1814. Por el Conde de Toreno. 5 tomos, en 3 vols. 8vo. Paris: Baudry, 1849.
- 6. Life of Field-Marshal the Duke of Wellington. By J. H. Stocqueler, Esq. Illustrated London Library.

IF anything we are about to say should seem to reflect on the memory of an illustrious character, destined to live not more in the pages of our history than in the heart of every Englishman, we earnestly and from the first disclaim such a purpose. The name of the Duke of Wellington is, by many a just title, among our household words. For high practical genius, dedicated without reserve, and through a long life of peace and war, to the service of his country; for an inflexible integrity of purpose which has become almost proverbially attached to him; for a lofty yet simple-hearted indifference to the opinions or the advantages of that world wherein he pursued so brilliant a career, when weighed in the balance against the sterner dictates of right; for humanity and moderation amid intoxicating triumphs; for the unshaken fortitude that would have borne him through all possible reverses; nay, for a more than decorous attention to such observances of religion as came naturally within his reach: that thrice-honoured personage needs no further praise than a grateful and sorrowing nation has already poured forth upon his ashes.

His was a character tested during campaigns and political convulsions; standing out in strong relief against the rival mind with whom, in the designs of Providence, he was framed to cope, and whose towering onward force his indomitable resistance was to stay; a character, finally, subjected to the gaze of the camps and cabinets of Europe.

during a longer period than usually falls to the lot of public men, and in all, from first to last, found consistent and unchanging. Far be it, then, from us, to refuse to swell that popular voice of tribute which the heroic object of such demonstrations was the last to consider of any consequence to himself. Far be it from us to deny one tittle of the qualities of real greatness that descend, in their measure, from above, even as the better gifts of the supernatural order of grace.

There is something truly pleasurable in the thought of one whose great endowments are tempered with a manly simplicity that invites us to claim our share in him as belonging in some sense to ourselves. Moreover, we never can forget that to the Duke of Wellington's perception of justice and unembarrassed good sense we owe, under God, the breaking of an odious and cruel yoke from the necks of one class of his countrymen. The Duke was the Catholic emancipator. And as during life he obtained the well-earned meed of Catholic prayers, so now do we follow his memory with regrets deeper (we venture to affirm) and more distinct than some that have been enunciated louder, and more widely heard.

If, however, we felt in the moment of losing him that, amid so much that was truly possessed, there was still something to desire, and that the treasury of his excellencies, ample as it was, lacked one "captain jewel in his carcenet," that feeling has become more vivid by the unavoidable contrast exhibited in a kindred and yet more recent event.

Another great man has been taken from the earth; a personal ally of him for whom England is now in mourning; his coadjutor in several of the heroic passages of the Peninsular war, and up to the entrance of the allied armies into France. Don Francisco Xavier Castanos, afterwards named Duke of Baylen from his decisive victory at that place over the French, has quitted the world within a short month of his illustrious brother in arms. He was "the Wellington of Spain." Devoted from his earliest boyhood to the military career, in which he rose with rapidity, he pursued a round of service in various campaigns with scarcely less renown than his British prototype, until he appeared with him in the closing scenes of that great drama which reached its climax in the downfal of Napoleon. He then remained in Catalonia as Captain-general,

and is said to have "gained the affections of the inhabitants by his rectitude, moderation, and good-nature." "During the present reign,"—(we continue to quote from the sketch of his life which appeared in the Morning Chronicle,)—" Castanos has filled the high office of President of the Council of Castile, and that of the Regency. He has been also senator, and guardian of the Queen and Infanta, and he preserved to the last the command of the royal corps of halberdiers. Besides the title of the Duke of Baylen, with the grandeeship of the First Class, he had the Toison d'or, and all the great crosses, civil and military, with numerous decorations for military exploits."

Thus far we have before us two noble portraits. They are those of brothers in arms, men destined to move through a period of great commotion, and thereby brought easily and naturally above the surface, but possessed of talents and a moral force that would have won their way to eminence in any condition of things. There are, moreover, features of resemblance between them which invest this juxtaposition

with still further interest:

"The habits of General Castanos are described as having been very simple and methodical. He was accustomed to rise at daybreak, and soon afterwards a chaplain entered his room, and said mass; after which, he took chocolate, in which the chaplain participated. Between eight and ten he had two newspapers—one opposition and one ministerial—read to him. After that he went out, and always visited the church where the Forty Hours were celebrated, (sic) and on his return read his private correspondence. Ile dined at five, and as soon as the meal was over, he drove out for a time, and on his return retired to his tertulia till ten, p. m.; when he took a glass of milk and went to bed. He had only three servants, and his establishment was altogether of the most modest description."

Simplicity and plainness, the modesty of a truly great mind, whether resulting from a just estimate of the worth of popular opinion, or from a real sense of not having reached its own ideal—a quality always so engaging; that sterling good sense and solidity of judgment which the most brilliant attributes require to give them reality and permanence: these high gifts, encountering such opportunities as come round once in a century, have combined to give "the Duke" his inalienable place in our lips and hearts.

From the scanty notices given us of his brother-Duke of

the Peninsular, Baylen seems to have been in these respects, if not the transcript, yet the close resemblance of Wellington. Strike out of the comparison the accidentals of politics and nation. Place one hero in a condition of things turbulent and insecure as that of Spain, and the other among the waves of English faction, which, however angrily they may foam, have (thank God) scarce ever been tinged with blood. Adorn the latter with a constant marked respect from the successive crowned heads of a tranquil dynasty, honours equally graceful for the sovereign to render and for the subject to receive. Give him votes of thanks from the Houses of Parliament as each victory eclipsed the foregoing; the freedom of cities; costly presentations from merchant-princes and ancient chartered corporations, suitable to the wealth and importance of their donors:-accessories, all of them, in the English portrait, that richly fill up the back-ground without distracting the eye from the features that stand out prominently from among them. The twin-picture is necessarily drawn in somewhat ruder style; for the scene is laid amid sanguinary civil strife, wars of succession, and a general state of civilisation bearing traces of the convulsions that have rent and disordered it. And thus, to continue our metaphor, notwithstanding the family likeness on which we insist, the one is given to us by the pencil of Sir Thomas Lawrence; and the expression, though simple, is polished, calm, and dignified. The other, equally soldier-like, and quite as original, could not well escape a touch of Caravaggio, or Salvator Rosa.

But if, apart from national accidental differences, we divest these great men of what Lear would have called their sophistications, and come to the essence;—if we disencumber the one of his cap of maintenance, chancellor's robes, and garter, and the other of his grandeeship, his crosses and toison d'or;—if we dismiss the first lord of the treasury, and the president of the Council of Castile,—supersede the warden of the Cinque Ports and the commander of royal halberdiers,—sink on either side the military commands and civil presidencies, the badges, collars, and ribbons, that festoon themselves around those stately trunks;—we then come from the glitter to the greatness, from the rind to the core of their majesty, and reach the inner principle of that magnanimity that gave

form and meaning to the mere adjuncts of which it was so

independent.

Follow the two dukes severally from the state apartments in which they have filled their exalted place; from the presence of a confiding sovereign; from a crowd of subordinates, and circle of admirers. They remain simply themselves, and retain still a generic likeness to each other. The early hours, the "three servants," and the "glass of milk," form the Spanish counterpart to the abstemious fare and narrow little camp-bed at Stratfield-say. And we doubt not that Field-Marshal the Duke of Baylen used to "present his compliments" to all irrelevant enquirers in as laconic Castilian as was ever penned.

Here ends the parallel. And here begins,—shall we say the contrast? It would be so, but that we are pre-determined to touch as lightly and tenderly as may be on one side of the comparison, and approach to contemplate deficiencies we cannot but be keenly alive to, as Edmund Burke bids us examine the wounds of a parent, "with pious awe and trembling solicitude." We are simply bent on illustrating a principle; and the focus of our observation is turned upon an individual, whose whole stamp, both by light and shade, embodies and eminently illustrates it.

If it be said that individuals cannot be independent of their native system, and that a great man, born and bred in a sect too narrow for him, stands at very evident disadvantage beside one whose religious instincts have expanded within the broad bosom of the Church; this is but the

final assertion on which our remarks concentrate.

The occurrences at Walmer Castle on the fourteenth of September, are fresh in the minds of all. It was a scene of unlooked-for seizure and rapid decease. Much may have passed within, during that brief space; much more may have been passing within during the long tranquil evening of that unclouded day of glory which was then closed. These things we leave and do not guess at. We occupy ourselves only with the external fact. And it is the external fact of that solemn juncture, that amid all the appliances which a tender reverential affection could suggest, the needs of the departing soul were the only needs unthought of. Breathless messengers spurred in every direction but that which would have summoned spiritual aid.

Our readers may not feel it out of place if we illustrate this fact by a contrast from another death-bed. We do not mean that of the Spanish soldier-duke, to which we are coming immediately, but one in a different nation and class of life. Not long since,* the carriage of the present Pontiff passed in the streets of Rome a litter in which a poor working-man who had met with a dangerous accident, was being carried to the hospital of San Spirito in the Borgo. The next day the holy father sent one of his chamberlains to the hospital to make enquiries after the patient. "What did the surgeon, say of him?" "Oh, the surgeon had not yet been." "Not been to see him! Well, that was a very culpable delay. But how did he seem to be going on?" "Why, he seemed very likely to die." "Has no one then been to him?" "Si sicuro: the priest has been to be sure."
"Has he then made his confession?" "Sicuro." "And received the last sacraments?" "O si, si." "And does he appear in good dispositions, and prepared for death?" Yes, he had in that interval been cared for and duly prepared, and was now in faith and hope awaiting his passage. And, in fact, the poor Transtibertine shortly after breathed his last, strengthened and comforted by all the Church could minister to him, before medicine had come in to take even the second place after religion.

It will be said, and we fully agree, that surgical aid was very unduly at a discount in the Borgo. Might it not be rejoined that spiritual succour would well have been more

promptly sought at Walmer?

And now let us transfer ourselves across the Bay of Biscay. We will thread the streets of Madrid, and enter a house, a ducal palace it may be, though one at which Picadilly or Belgravia would "stare and gasp." There, after full ninety-five years of life, and much of it active and perilous, an old man lies dying. He has gone through strange scenes in his time. He has been promoted, and wounded, and promoted again, and has fought his way to celebrity and honours, and been long crowned with the highest rank attainable by a subject. And now he comes to die. What has been the soul's history through that long life? How does the career of Baylen show from the

^{*} This anecdote comes to us on the best authority.

only point of view from which it is now worth while to regard it? We know not. War is a wild trade; and by breaking up the frame of society, annihilates the only barrier whereby four-fifths of mankind are restrained from overt violation of laws divine and human. License becomes rule, and armed power the measure of permission. The records of Gibraltar, Minorca, the Pyrenees, Albuera, Burgos, Perpignan, Catalonia—each in turn the scene of his mortal probation, are written, but not for the eyes of They may contain much that in the protracted evening of his days formed matter of daily penance. Or they may present to the sight of heaven a succession of internal triumphs far eclipsing in splendour the mere earthly trophies that adorned his ducal coronet. Let us still for a moment keep our eyes off his dying bed, and take up his story, and that of his illustrious compeer, a

step or two higher.

War ceases, and Europe, wearied out with the long struggle, determines to enjoy unbroken repose. The two Dukes carry their ample laurels with them into peaceful life, and wear them in commands, adequate to the dignity which their good swords have wrought out for them, and deriving worth and meaning from the past. They are beloved and revered: their daily lives become noted, and everything attaching to them is invested with public interest. They walk quietly abroad, and are the observed of all observers. It soon appears that they spend their time by rule, and that, a simple and even a The London press informs the curious where severe one. "the Duke" has been seen, how the Duke was looking, what is the last anecdote of the Duke, what a straightforward soldierly answer the Duke gave to Mr. So-and-so. or the Committee of This-and-that: how he was at the door of Saint James' Chapel last Sunday morning before the clerk had opened it; how audibly he made the responses; with what noble lord he walked home; how he touched his hat to the circle of respectful gazers when he disappeared through the gates of Apsley House. These airy nothings are each a fact, and go for much more than their own ascertainable weight. They are illustrations, nay, they are portions, of the great man, the model man, the Englishman's Duke, the avro-Englishman, who is equally himself in the prominent decisive actions of his life, and in his every-day sayings and doings, his most trivial unconscious gestures. We repeat, we are the last to look

sour upon such a feeling as this.

What have we answering to it in the other portrait? The journals of Madrid scarcely deal in such minute details as our own "fourth estate;" and we might probably look over files of them without discovering that his Grace the Duke of Baylen had again risen at day-break. again taken chocolate with his chaplain, read his two newspapers, or visited the Church set apart for that day's adoration during his accustomed walk. Yet such daily details are fraught with a meaning as characteristic in

the one Duke as in the other.

What meaning do they convey in the case of the This: that the old soldier, bending under the weight of all but a century, persevered to the last in the daily practice of his holy religion; availing himself indeed of one privilege, and that a great one, rarely accorded (we believe) in health, of having the Eucharistic Sacrifice offered every morning in his private room. Now were we the Spanish correspondent of the "Illustrated London News," by what tableau should we convey to the public the closing scene of Baylen's earthly career? We should probably look into his last will and testament, in order to gather the leading idea of what we were to pourtray. And what are the features of it? We will quote again from the "Morning Chronicle:"

"The Queen experienced much emotion on reading the will of the Duke of Baylen, dated 11th April, 1849. The duke ordered that on his death he should be dressed in his cldest uniform, that which he used to wear in council, over that to be placed the Scapular of the Virgin of Mercy, and that of the Heart of Jesus. The religious ceremony is desired to be as simple as possible, 'and my body,' adds the testator, 'is to be conveyed to the Churchyard of St. Nicholas, and deposited, not in a vault, but in the ground at the foot of the grave of my well-beloved sister Maria, with a simple inscription on a marble slab, bearing my name, my age, and the date of my death. I do not wish that any carriage should follow my remains, not even my own. I die poor,* but were I rich, I would prefer to expend my fortune, not in a sumptuous coffin or grand music, but solely in prayers and alms for indigent families, not forgetting the convents and hospitals. I appoint my nephews, the Baron de Carondolet, the Count de Punon Joetro, the Duke de

^{*} Another account, given in the "London News," states that the Duke of Baylen had impoverished himself by his alms-deeds.

Ahumda, and M. Gaspar Herreroz, my executors. If they should not find sufficient money in my house to defray the expenses of my funeral, my executors will represent to my well beloved Queen my services and the affection she has ever shown me, and I trust that she will command that the funeral expenses be paid by the treasury. While admiring the profound humility of the Duke, the Queen commanded that the honours so well merited should be paid to her old and faithful servant."

We are now ready with our pencil. He is, of course, closely attended and watched with affectionate solicitude by the chaplain who has so long been his daily companion. He is in his simple chamber, on his homely couch, fortified with the Church's last rites, for which many of his less favoured comrades had vainly sighed on the field of death. There he lies, confessed and shriven, houselled and anointed; the hand that had so vigorously wielded the sabre, now clasping the crucifix to his breast. three attendants to whom a noble simplicity had limited his household, are telling their beads around him with fervour, supplicating the Mother of Mercy to intercede for his soul. What accessories would fill in our picture? The Church of the Forty hours' devotion is doubtless thronged with worshippers for his sake: perhaps in some Church or at some altar to which he entertained special devotion, the Most Holy Sacrament has been exposed purposely for him. Members of the Senate solemnly attend Mass during his agony; there is a Novena to his patron Saint Francis, and communions are offered for his safe passage among his own corps of halberdiers. The knowledge of these things cheers and strengthens him: it blends with the words which his failing ear can now hardly catch, though breathed close to him; Proficiscere anima Christiana de hoc mundo, in nomine, &c. He passes away upon the wings of prayer, his own, and theirs who are one with him in Christ; and his name, his remaining needs, continue to live in their intercessions. For among a string of titles which are now become to him as so much empty breath, he has kept for his choice inheritance the only one that has a reality extending beyond the grave: the title of heir, through grace, of the divine kingdom, and member (if among the least) of the communion of Saints.

"Look on this picture, and on this;" and say, in the light of that Future which is preparing behind the flimsy VOL. XXXIII.—No. LXVI.

curtain of the Present, which of the two will best bear the test of such a consideration? Our own venerated Duke will go down in the records and traditions of England to a late posterity. The bronze and the marble that will soon be preparing for him will not be more enduring than the memory of his fame. He will rank as the presiding genius among the household gods, which men who are unconscious of any other worship love to erect above their hearth. Say all this, and you have described one of the few exceptional cases among the sons of Adam. And when you have said it, does anything remain beyond? One question

rises to the mind—and is it answered?

For ourselves, we would resign all the greatness he has achieved, and all the greatness that has been thrust upon him; we would fling the laurels of Assaye, and Talavera, and Waterloo, and fifty others, to the winds; we would forego those long-sustained triumphs of tranquil influence that held the noble and gifted of the land in mute attention to each simple word he addressed to his peers in their hall of assembly; we would sacrifice the inward consciousness to which even his unimpulsive heart must sometimes have thrilled, that for him England was all eye, all ear, and all affection: these things, with whatever more might be accumulated upon them, would we frankly give, for one such act of faith and devotion as stirred the bosom of his brother Duke at any of those moments, daily renewed, when he kneeled in the Presence of the Adorable. May we dare to inscribe the portraits of these heroes whom we have thus faintly sketched, and be guiltless of the irreverence that would intrude into the secrets of their now changeless doom? Then the first would claim from us an inscription we should cordially yield to "This was one on whom earth and time lavished their gifts: who possessed them with moderation, employed them with uprightness, and lived and died irradiated by the well-earned affection of his Sovereign, his country, and every friend of loyalty, of order, of inflexible integrity and truth." For the other, though here too we might speak of the long attachment of royalty to its faithful servant, and the gratitude of a nation to the appointed instrument of deliverance and triumph, we should feel ourselves entitled to choose another strain: "Dominus regit me, et nihil mihi deerit: in loco pascuae ibi me collocavit. Super aquam refectionis educavit me: animam meam convertit. Nam, et si ambulavero in medio umbrae mortis, non timebo mala: quoniam tu mecum es. Parasti in conspectu meo MENSAM, adversus eos qui tribulant me. Et ut inhabitem in domo Domini in longitudinem dierum."

ART. III.—Les Economistes, les Socialistes, et le Christianisme. Par CHARLES PERIN, Professeur de droit public et d'economie politique à l'Université Catholique de Louvain. Paris: Le Coffre et Cie, 1849.

IT is with much pleasure that we draw the attention of our readers to the work whose title heads this article, not only on account of its own merits, which are considerable; but as one of a class which we desire to see increase. and as a fresh proof as well of the undying spirit of Catholicity and its adaptation to all the phases and all the wants of society; as of the good service which the university of which M. Perin is a professor, has done and is ready to do for the cause of religion and science. It has been too much the fashion of late, especially in these countries, to circumscribe religion and indeed Christianity within a region, called its own; and to reject the idea of its principles influencing any other subject or any other Our ears are weary with the parrot cry of "what has religion to do with history, with law, with political economy? Without its light history is read backwards; without it the science of law fails for want of a primary sanction: unless founded on its principles, political economy falls into the most grievous errors. From the fact of the mind of these countries, and consequently its literature having been so long Protestant, we Catholics have been compelled to use in a great measure, Protestant works on all modern subjects, and hence our religion has gradually as it were, withdrawn itself to the teaching of dogma; and in science and in learning we have been Protestantized. In nothing has this been more the case than in political economy; which as a science is

of so modern a date, and on which there are consequently no treatises by those great master minds of Catholicity whose works on the cognate subjects of metaphysics and ethics remain an imperishable monument of genius, and are the well-spring from which all later writers must draw.

With Catholics what is right is so essentially the test of what is expedient, that ethics were held to be a sufficient rule in politics and economy; and it was considered that the principles of justice and morality formed a sufficient Savonarola held that he best guide for the legislator. taught the free Florentines how to govern their state when he taught them to do their duty towards God and their neighbour, * and the astute secretary of that same republic deemed that he could by no other means more effectually convince his countrymen of the mischievous consequences of the rule of the petty sovereigns of his native land, than by showing that the rules by which their policy must be guided were opposed to natural rectitude and justice. † St. Thomas, indeed, in the little treatise De Regimine Principum, enters somewhat more largely into the question of governments, and lays down some of the soundest principles of the science of politics and of its cognate or rather branch political economy.

His definition of the object of the social science is admirable, and is indeed a key to the whole of the Catholic view of the subject.

"Idem autem oportet esse judicium de fine totius multitudinis et unius. Si igitur finis hominis esset bonum quodcunque in ipso existens, et regenda multitudinis finis ultimus esset ut tale bonum multitudo acquireret et in eo permaneret, et siquidem talis ultimus, sive unius hominis, sive multitudinis finis esset corporalis, vita et sanitas corporis, medici esset officium. Si autem ultimus finis esset divitiarum affluentia, œconomus rex quidem multitudinis esset. Si vero bonum cognoscendæ veritatis tale quid esset ad quod possit multitudo pertingere, rex haberet doctoris officium. Videtur autem ultimus finis esse multitudinis congregatæ, vivere secundum virtutem; ad hoc enim homines congregantur ut simul bene vivant, quod consequi non posset unusquisque singulariter vivens. Bona

^{*} See Vita Hieron. Savon. a Pico Mirand.

^{† &}quot;Lo scopo del libro del Principe non é il dar precetti di un legittimo governo, ma il rappresentare la tirannia, svelandone tutta la deformità e dipingendola nei suoi piu neri colori per ispaventare e svergognare i tiranni."—Pref. ad Principe edit Venet. 1811.

autem vita est secundum virtutem; virtuosa igitur vita est congregationis humanæ finis."—Lib. i. cap. 14.

In later days, however, the rules of the Gospel were no longer deemed a sufficient foundation for a science which was to rule men's lives here; or rather their force and practical application were forgotten; and men who sought to build up the kindred sciences of ethics and political economy, cast about for fresh principles from which to start. A new system of ethics arose which took as its basis, utility as the rule of action; and along side of it arose a school of economists who founded their science on the double fallacy of the indefinite natural perfectibility of the human race, and the indefinite development of wants. Throwing aside the spiritual nature, they regarded material enjoyment as the ultimate end and only rule; and were consequently obliged to hold that material happiness to be attainable by all.

It was time to recall men to the old paths; to return to drink of the original pure stream, to bring back science to the first principles of truth; and from those eternal data to build up the structure of this branch of science; for as nations grew and commerce increased, and civilization brought its mingled benefits and evils; the science of government required to be developed; its principles could not change, for they are eternal; but their application became more complex and varied. And while we do not for a moment undervalue the labours of those who have toiled in this path; of Smith, and Say, and Ricardo and Stuart Mill, we rejoice to see promise of a Catholic school of political economists arising, who will solve the problems the sensualistic school are as unable to solve as the more consistent though more mischievous school of socialists. And whither can we look with more hope for the fulfilment of such a promise, than to the university of which our author is a member? In the little work at present under our notice, his object is to trace the intimate connection between the errors of the sensualistic school of political economists and those of the socialists; and to point out their common source, in the overlooking of the spiritual part of man's nature, and the principles of Christianity.

The work consists of five chapters; in the first, which treats "of the struggle between the sensualistic and Chris-

tian principle in economic theories," he as it were states the question; and taking occasion from the late troubles in Europe, and their evident connection with discontent in the minds of the masses, as well with the existing distribution of riches as with existing forms of government; to point out that the root of these troubles is deeper than is generally thought; he points out their primary source in the wide spread influence of those doctrines of the English school of political economy "which, without intending it, by founding the social science on sensualistic data, prepared the way for the destructive doctrines of Socialism."

"The starting point of all the sensualistic political economy, is the principle of the indefinite development of wants. Now between this principle and the morality taught by Christianity, there is no possible reconciliation. In the Christian doctrine the idea of the good and virtuous is inseparably connected with that of sacrifice; it implies the victory of man over his disorderly inclinations, and the necessity of a constant struggle of man with himself. This necessity is held in horror by the apostles of the doctrine of the indefinite development of wants; according to them it is to outrage human nature, to contest the legitimacy of its leaning to material gratifications; the vow of self-denial to them is a law contrary to nature, and they have consequently undertaken to teach the science of the creation and distribution of riches independently of morality. But they have forgot that there is nothing in the social system which does not depend on the moral law, because there is not a single action of human life which is morally indifferent,"p. 5.

In his second chapter, which treats "of the principle of the theories of the Economists," he quotes largely from the works of several distinguished economists to prove that they all start from purely materialistic data. To show this he successively briefly sketches the theories of Quesnay, of Adam Smith—to whom he pays a well-deserved tribute of respect by excepting him in great measure from the class of materialistic economists, and pointing out that with him "The separation of morality from economy was only a question of method; a means of rendering easier the study of the laws of riches by simplifying them"—of J. B. Say, M. A. Clement; and having shown that they all suppose the sole object of man's existence to be to increase his material pleasures, he proceeds to ask:—

[&]quot;But what can such a principle really do for society? What

are we to expect from it for its repose, its happiness, its greatness, and its strength? Does it really possess the power of satisfying that insatiable desire of material happiness which it has enkindled in men's minds, and to which it has sacrificed our noblest and purest sentiments? or does it only prepare for men sufferings more bitter as they succeed to ardent and flattering hopes?"—p. 24.

As a preliminary to investigating the question of poverty, he briefly sketches the acknowledged principles of the increase of production, and consequently of wealth; chiefly following in this Stuart Mill; and having pointed out that the great difficulty to all political economists is the more rapid increase of population than of the means of subsistence, he proceeds to examine the various means which have been proposed to check this too rapid increase. the case of animals their too rapid increase is checked by natural causes, which destroy the superabundant generations: were the human race to increase in the same manner, famine and disease would do the same for it; but the free will of man can, by putting a voluntary check on its unlimited increase, avoid the action of such sharp medi-But what shall induce each individual to exercise this restraint over himself? To induce men to exercise this restraint so necessary for society and for themselves is then the question; and it is here that the political economists of the sensualistic school separate from those who look to Christian principle; the former appealing to selfinterest; the latter to the religious principle of self-denial. Our author successively states and examines with great truth and fairness, the elements of the various systems of Malthus, of Thornton, and of Senior. That of Clements we can hardly allude to; in a passage, the sense of which cannot be mistaken, he shows that he would systematise vice and inculcate crimes, not to be named as the remedy for the too great increase of population. * M. Perin pays a deserved tribute of respect to Malthus and all the English economists in exempting them from the suspicion of any leaning towards such foul doctrines. Malthus devotes two volumes to proving the necessity of the poorer classes

^{*&}quot;Ce n'est donc pas l'abstinence du marriage qu'il faudrait recommander aux classes salariès mais le soin de rendre leurs unions moins fecondes." Recherches sur l'indigence de M. Clement. ap. Perin p. 56. See also Prudhon's Systeme de Contradictions Economiques, t. ii. p. 449.

exercising prudence in regard to marriages, but he enlarges but little on the means by which they are to be

induced to do so.

Mr. Thornton (Over-population and its Remedy, by W. H. Thornton, London, 1846) a consistent sensualistic economist, seeks in the theory of the development of want itself a remedy for the evil of a population which exceeds its due limits M. Perin justly considers Mr. Thornton as the best exponent of the sensualistic theory on the subject of the problem of misery, and quotes largely from his work to show his system. It may however be thus shortly summed up. Poverty is at once cause and effect. Misery, the inevitable effect and index of a superabundant population, is at the same time the principal cause of its progress. A man in comfortable circumstances will hesitate to sacrifice any of his advantages by an imprudent marriage; a wretched labourer whose day's work hardly provides him with food, has no such restraint; he has nothing to lose, and may gain something, and consequently marries without any forethought.

"If these opinions be correct, a permanent cure of over population may be effected by any means that will raise the labouring classes from the poverty in which they are sunk, and provide them with adequate means of supporting themselves."—Over Population, &c., p. 217.

On this Perin remarks:-

"Assuredly the plan is simple and easy of application. There are too many labourers; the too great supply of labour lowers its value; whilst the excessive demand for food increases its price, so that the labourer, after feeding himself, has nothing left for his other wants. Nothing easier to be cured; increase the comfort of the labourers, and their number will return within its natural limits. But it may be asked, how is their comfort to be increased in order to reduce their number, if to do so it be necessary for this purpose first to increase their wages, and that can be done only by diminishing the number of hands? No answer has been made to this, and we do not know that any plausible answer can be attempted."—p. 67.

M. Perin also refers to Stuart Mill's "Principles of Political Economy," Vol. i, pp. 189-442, et seq., and Senior's "Encyclopædia Metropolitana," art. Political Economy; to show that they also hold the increase of

riches to be the cause to which we must look for the increase of prudence; and he closes his second chapter with a brief refutation of this theory. He points out in the first place, that the prudence of self-love would only substitute libertinism for marriage, and that to induce men to remain single whilst you taught them to seek their happiness in material enjoyments, would be only to increase the evil it was intended to prevent. But further, he shows that the theory is not only unsupported by, but is contrary to the facts, and he quotes M. Villerme de l'etat physique et moral des Ouvriers, to prove that marriages amongst workmen are more frequent, and population increases more rapidly when wages are highest.

The third chapter is devoted to the consideration of the practical effects produced in modern countries by the principle of the indefinite development of wants: and it opens with the following passage:

"What may be expected in practice from theories in which so marked a sensualism predominates? Whither in human life tends this forgetfulness of the exalted destinies, the divine end of mankind, this love of the useful above everything else, this inordinate seeking after material happiness? The answer is but too clear; it is to be found everywhere, in books, in facts; in the unquiet which afflicts our age, in this universal disturbance which attests the existence of some disorder in the very depths of the social world. In place of that unheard of and ever-increasing prosperity, which we were believed to be on the point of attaining, we meet with nothing but pauperism, that is to say, misery with a character of generality, and a tendency to extension which it never bore in former times, insomuch that we have been obliged to borrow from England a word to express this new calamity, for which our language had no name."—p. 76.

He goes on to consider the state of the working classes in England, as an illustration; and points out that the systematic cultivation of a thirst for riches, and the development of wants excites and fosters a wild thirst for enjoyment, which destroys the very wordly prudence it is meant to foster. Hence, economists prefer to quote France, rather than England, as an instance of their theories; but unjustly, as the predominance of the sensualistic principle is of much later date, and consequently, of less extensive application in France than in England; indeed, in the agricultural populations of France the old

Catholic ideas retain, in a great measure, their influence.

"The struggle of these two principles of sensualism and self-denial is as old as human society, and will last as long as it. What is called industrialism is only one phase of it; it is the momentary victory of sensualism over self-denial. It is not the first time that this fact has appeared in the world; but never since the definite triumph of Christianity has it borne so serious a character."

In the fourth chapter our author proceeds to prove his opening proposition, that the first principles of the sensualistic economists necessarily lead to the conclusions of the Socialists; first, wholly acquitting them of any wilful intention of leading to this result, or of any adoption of the absurd theories of the Socialists. The whole argument may be briefly summed up in nearly the following form. The economists maintain the omnipotence and sacredness of the principle of self-interest; the indefinite perfectibility of the human race, by the influence of this principle, and its entire adoption; but the theories of the Socialists are the only ones which realize (in theory) this perfection, therefore, they are logical consequences of those principles, and the natural completion of the system. illustrate and enforce this, he examines successively the systems of M. Prudhon, M. Louis Blanc, and M. Fourier. He points out their entire adoption of the principles of the economists; and their entire coincidence in object and aim with those of the English School of political economists.

The idea which inspired M. Louis Blanc, in his work, "De l'Organization du Travail," and its practical development in the ateliers nationaux was the revolution of mankind, by means of material enjoyments. He joins with the political economists in rejecting the Catholic idea that self-denial is necessary, that sufferings are meritorious; that man's happiness does not consist in corporeal pleasures.

"Paganism had outraged the human soul to the extent of making slaves; Catholicism disdained the material portion of humanity to such an extent, as to suffer the existence of poor."—Organization du Travail.

The question of population M. L. Blanc resolves in the same manner as the economists; when men are rich they will voluntarily limit the increase of the population. M. Prudhon is far more consequent and complete in his system than M. Louis Blanc. Taking the doctrine of the pantheists as his basis, he develops to its utmost extent, the idea, that as enjoyment is to be the rule of men's actions, it must lead them to perfect happiness. Virtue for him is material happiness; vice is poverty; and in this vice he does not hesitate to denounce in the most revolting manner the whole Christian religion, for teaching man another rule of conduct than his own earthly welfare.

"Let the priest learn at length," he says, "that misery is sin, and that true virtue, which renders us worthy of eternal life, is to fight against religion and against God.

"The life of man, philosophy teaches us, is to be a perpetual enfranchisement of the animal part of man and of nature, a struggle against God. In religious practice, life is a struggle of man against himself, the absolute submission of society to a superior being."—Systeme des Contradictions Economiques. t. ii. p. 529.

M. Perin sums up his account of Prudhon's system, and its connexion with principles of the economists in the following emphatic passage:—

"If M. Prudhon is grossly mistaken, he has at least the merit of being consequent in his errors. The principle of the indefinite development of wants being admitted as the supreme law of humanity, it is evident that the social organization ought to correspond with this law, and that mankind ought to be placed in such conditions as to be able to give free scope to its irresistible and legitimate instincts. If society as at present constituted does not satisfy this necessity, it must be because men have corrupted the nature of things: this must at once be rectified, and the mission of reformers like M. Prudhon is to do so."

The system of Fourier, with its phalansterian associations, its deification of the passions, and classification of them as papillonne, cabalist and composite; and all its other absurdities springs from the same principles, and follows the same route.

Having thus examined the principles of the economists, and the socialists, and their connection, M. Perin proceeds in his last chapter to develop the Christian and Catholic principle of self-denial as a social principle; after having overthrown the foundations of his opponents' theories, he proceeds to establish his own; after having proved the negative he proceeds to the affirmative. In

doing this he gives a rapid glance at the historic aspect of the question, how this principle when first promulgated, transformed and gave new life to society, emancipated the slave and made him a free labourer, restored the ties of family, "and from the mixture of two societies, the one corrupt and effete, the other yet barbarous; raised the modern society, still so great and so powerful, notwithstanding the heavy shocks caused by the forgetfulness of that principle which, through so many centuries caused its

prosperity," p. 133.

This principle is founded on the very nature of man; which being, since his fall, naturally inclined to evil, the principle of virtue, and of his advancement, must consist in a struggle and a contest; a renunciation, and a victory over himself. Hence, the universal sense of mankind recognises the necessity of self-denial, and from the stoics to our own day, from the plains of India to the wilds of America, all nations have recognised virtue to consist in self-denial; they may have been, and often were deceived as to what self-denial should consist in; but these errors do not weaken the proof of the principle any more than the errors of so many nations on the nature of the Deity impair the proof of the existence of God, derived from the universal consent of all mankind. And as the approach towards perfection of each man depends on this law, so must that of society, which is formed of an aggregate of individuals, and shares the fate of its parts. Now what is the object of Christianity with regard to riches? "It is to see the goods of this world so distributed as that none may want necessaries. To render comfort as general as possible, is the ultimate object of all economic science, guided by Christian ideas." Before proving how well the rules of Christianity are calculated to effect this object, our author puts aside a preliminary objection, viz., that self-denial tends to check the increase of riches; by pointing out that the principle does not forbid men to entertain the legitimate wish to better their condition, but only keeps this wish within the bounds of justice and pos-Catholicity does not forbid a man to acquire riches, but teaches him to make a good use of them. Perin, then proceeds to point out at great length the many advantages which the Christian principle confers on society in a social point of view; premising that it must

be studied as a system and body of precepts, and not in

a single application of these precepts.

The Catholic principle favours the increase of the riches of society, firstly, by increasing the quantity and energy of labour, which it does by ennobling and giving a moral sanction and a recompense to labour. That the spirit of selfdenial tends to increase capital, which is so necessary for the production of riches, is too self-evident to need proof. But it is in extending and perfecting the cultivation of the soil that the Catholic principle confers the greatest benefits on society. Of all advances in production, those which tend to make the earth produce more food are the most valuable to society; yet, they are those to which selfinterest tends least to lead men. Manufacturing speculations, if involving more risk, yet are infinitely more attractive to capital and energy from the superiority, both in quickness and in amount of their returns. Moderation in their desires, and less ardent thirst of gain, make men contented with the moderate and slow returns of agricul-And in the distribution of riches, this greater tendency to agricultural pursuits, in a country imbued with Catholic ideas, and consequent proportionably more abundant supply of necessaries than of luxuries, tends largely to better the condition of the labourer, by enabling him, with a similar amount of wages, to procure a larger portion of necessaries for himself and his family.* The good effects of Catholic teaching on society in promoting chastity, and thereby putting the only possible check on the too rapid increase of population, is one of the few merits occasionally allowed us by our opponents; and is most eloquently dilated on by our author, in its double point of view, in inculcating chastity on the young, and in sanctioning vows of perpetual virginity in the clergy and religious. Premising that he wishes to consider the celi-

* For the elucidation of this point we refer our readers to M.

Perin's work, p. 142, et seq.

[†] It is amusing to look back on the old attacks formerly made on the Catholic religion, and occasionally repeated in our days, for interfering with the prosperity of nations, on the ground that by vows of chastity it checked the increase of their population, and to contrast them with the Malthusian theories of the economists of the present day, and their opposite complaint, that Catholicity favours early marriages.

bacy of religious only in a social, and not in a religious point of view, he continues:—

"In this sacrifice society gains not only the negative advantage of a check to the increase of population, but also the numberless benefits of a charity practised by men, who have broken for it every link of worldly affection. The fire of charity concentrated in the religious orders, spread on all sides its gentle and irresistible influence. The religious quits the world only the better to belong to men, and in his devotedness he finds a hundred ways to serve them.

"Let us look back to those poor monks of the middle ages, a Roger Bacon, for instance, who in the retirement of the cloister anticipated some of the greatest discoveries of modern science, and then say whether those men who had made vows of poverty and chastity were so useless to society, to whose progress their scientific discoveries contributed so much. But without going back so far, let us reflect how in later years the brothers of the Christian Doctrine have succeeded in organizing in their schools that professional education, so earnestly and so fruitlessly demanded of the state, during so many years by the most distinguished economists, and then consider whether there is not something to be gained, even in an economic point of view, from those men for whom political economy cannot find sufficient anathemas. But above all, it is when they consecrate their life to relieve the miseries and the sufferings of humanity, that their self-devotion shines the brightest. In considering them in this exercise of their ministry, none can help being touched with admiration and gratitude, and even the unbeliever is forced to bow before the sublime lowliness of their charity."p. 154.

Nor was the much abused institution of feast days less advantageous to society. Experience and the universal consent of mankind proves that periodical days of rest are necessary for men, nay, for animals. The rash experiments of the French Revolutionists, in substituting for the Christian seventh day of rest, the decade, resulted in a proof, that whilst the fifth day was too short an interval, the tenth was too distant. (See Genie du Christianisme, part iv.; for Republican Calendar, Catechisme de Perseverance, vol. vii., chap. 24.) The Catholic Church, by the devout, yet unpharisaical observance of Sunday, and of her feasts, provides for this want at once of rest, of relaxation, and of mental improvement. Nor is the objection well founded which is sought to be drawn from the diminution of the labourer's wages by the restriction of his days for work; the price of labour being regulated by the

supply; if the labourers work only six days instead of seven, their six days of work will be paid the same as seven would in the other case; nor was the condition of the working classes improved in France when Sunday was generally devoted to work. (See Cat. Persev., vol.

iii., chap. 28.)

It is in its relation to the great problem of poverty, that the benefits of the religious principle are most clearly shown. As poverty can never be abolished, it must be met, it must be endured; it is to be alleviated and improved. Poverty is of a twofold nature; there is the poverty of absolute want; there is the proverty of inferiority of riches; of straitened means; of a laborious struggle for a bare subsistence. How far superior the action of the spirit of self-denial, and the charity it creates, is to that of calculating self-interest and its offspring, legal charity, in combating and relieving the former we need not stop to prove; one sister of charity will do more to relieve distress than twenty overseers of the poor; * and whilst the inmates of a Catholic hospice are contented and resigned, those of an English poor-house are as discontented, and more mutinous than those of a gaol. But it is in regard to the second class of poor, those who work hard for a poor livelihood, that the effects of the spirit of self-denial, in opposition to that of self-interest, is less observed, and yet is more worthy of The principle of self-interest, and the development of wants, tends to make such men ever discontented with their lot, ever feverishly striving to better it, and ever squandering the fruit of their toils in sensual pleasures. The principle of self-denial, on the contrary, teaches the labourer to be ever resigned and contented with his lot. whilst he labours unselfishly, rather for his family than for himself; and to place his happiness, not in the transitory gratifications of his senses, but in the discharge of his duty, and in the reward of a good conscience.

^{*} Overseer so called, we presume, from generally overlooking them. We mentioned some facts in a former article (Poor Administration) to show the superiority of voluntary over legal charity. See also Naville de la Charitè Legale, vol. ii. p. 104, &c.

[†] M. Perin contrasts the comfort which the frugal spinners of Lille and Tavare enjoy on very moderate wages, as described by M. Villerme, with the brutal misery, notwithstanding their high wages, of those of Wolverhampton, described by M. Leon Faucher.

"Christianity has not promised an exhaustless happiness on this earth; it has not taught them that the golden age, instead of being behind, was before them; it has not flattered their passions, it has, on the contrary, painted life to them in its sternest reality; but what matter if these men, whom the sensualist considers as victims, live happy, free from the torments which accompany the ephemeral gratification of the senses, and if when their day comes, they leave the world full of gratitude to God who gave them life, and full of hope in His goodness?"—p. 173.

After having thus ably vindicated the effects of Catholic principles in society, against the attacks of the sensualistic economists, and displayed, as it were, in detail, the failure of their efforts and their teaching, to cope with the evils whose existence they themselves point out and deplore; and the efficacy of Catholic teaching to bind up those wounds, and heal those ulcers in the social frame which they are impotent to cure, M. Perin concludes his work with the following noble summary of the whole state of the controversy: which we would fain consider as the promise of a still larger work, and more extended study; and would recommend to our readers as the key of the social questions of the day. Fain are we to hope that it may arouse those amongst us who are capable of the task. to enter on the same career as our author and to take their part in the controversy he thus describes.

"Two doctrines dispute the empire of the world, sensualism and Christianity; all error leads to the former, all truth resides in the latter; by turns triumphant or despised, they bestow on the world calamities or blessings. Whence come the ills which now torment society? That revolution, which in a moment made so many ruins, had lain long in the souls of men. The eighteenth century, by driving God from the conscience of the people, and giving them the interests of this life as their idol, had prepared from afar its storms. It became evident that those doctrines, in whose name men were promised material unlimited enjoyments, unbounded social progress, bore the seeds of death to society. To day, when they are carried to their ultimate consequences, and when men, whose perverse instincts they have stimulated, seek to impose their yoke on society, the world shrinks with terror from those principles whose destructive force it suddenly perceives. But it is not enough to repress by violence a fire which will be ever bursting forth afresh, till its source be extinguished. The fire which slum. bers in the depths of society, whose sudden irruptions cause so much terror, has been enkindled by the sensualistic doctrines, Christianity alone, by its power of sacrifice, can extinguish it. Society is

perishing by the very principle from which it expected the eternity of its progress. May it at length learn, what events so loudly proclaim, that true life, durable prosperity, real progress, can spring only from that doctrine of self-denial, in which on the word of a narrow philosophy, it beheld only useless restrictions on the free expansion of the strength of humanity, only rules injurious to its dignity, and fatal to its happiness. May it learn that if it attempts to carry out the restoration of materialism, which is at the bottom of all the attacks of these latter days on Christianity, its triumph may be but too prompt, and in its victory would be its death warrant."—Sub fin.

But whilst we give M. Perin the highest praise for having thus lucidly pointed out how the Christian or Catholic principle meets the various difficulties which the economic principle, as taught in England, is unable to cope with; we cannot conclude these remarks without expressing a wish that he had gone further and deeper into the question, that, instead of illustrating the tree in its fruits, he had laid bare its roots; that he had elucidated the fundamental connection of moral truth and political economy; and built up an edifice of sound economic science on the solid basis of Catholic truth. In the hope that we may induce abler intellects than ours to undertake this task, we shall endeavour briefly to state what appears to us to be the outline of the subject.

The school of English economists define political economy to be the science of the production and distribution of riches,* but its true scope is wider; it is the science which studies the social state of man, and should, therefore, rather be considered as the science of the production and distribution of social happiness; happiness which, in this world, must, in a great measure, but not wholly, depend on the distribution of riches; it is, we believe, from thus tacitly confounding riches and happiness, or considering them as synonymous, that most of the mistakes in political economy have arisen. The economists start from the incontrovertible datum, that man, naturally and invincibly seeks his own well-being; and then, tacitly substituting for well-being, corporal enjoyment, or riches, they derive an erroneous conclusion, that the natural rule of action for man is the seeking after riches, or the principle of self-

love, as commonly understood, and consequently, that social science most conduces to the end of man's being, by aiming solely at the increase of riches: and that, as man is made to seek self-gratification, comfort, riches, and pleasure, these must be perfectly attainable for all. But in studying the science of social man, we shall assuredly err if we neglect the consideration of the nature of individual man; since society, composed of men, must be such as its parts. Christianity, by instructing us in the real nature of man, places social science on its true basis; by teaching us that man is a fallen creature, inclined to evil, whose intellect is darkened, and whose will perverted, and who is only here in a state of probation for happiness to be attained hereafter; it at once oversets the theory of the indefinite perfectibility of the human race, and points out that such advances towards social perfection as are possible, are attainable only by resisting and overcoming our perverse nature. It further shows, that although man is created to seek his own greatest happiness, yet, that propension cannot, in our present state, be taken as a safe guide, since our fallen nature mistakes its true happiness. and that the perverse inclination of mankind to sensual gratification is not the same as the original tendency of their nature to happiness. The theory of the perfectibility of society, and of self-gratification, as the rule of human action, leads inevitably to socialism; had man continued innocent, self-love would have coincided with right. and would have led him to perfect happiness; and the dreams of the socialists would have been realized; man is fallen, and therefore, the Utopias of the Socialists, and the ethics of Paley and the economists are equally erroneous.

Does, then, Catholicity profess to establish a law of social science, which shall govern all men, and lead them to social happiness? Far from it: it recognises the fact that the greater portion of mankind will ever be deaf to its

^{*} In ethics Paley makes the same mistake, when he makes the pursuit of happiness, or utility, a sufficient guide of action, without recognising man's blindness in individual cases in distinguishing what is good, and tends to his ultimate happiness; yet in the fourth chapter of the first book, where he admits the necessity of a divine sanction, against Hume, he seems to recognise this truth, though he afterwards overlooks its consideration.

teaching, and must be regarded and studied by the economist as seeking only their material comfort, and this tendency turned to the best advantage; but it promises to hold up to view the true law of action, though few will follow it: and by this view, and by the action of grace, leading some perfectly to comply with its dictates, and the reflected action of its teaching, and their example on the masses who, though not wholly guided, are yet influenced by its precepts, to infuse an element into society, which, if it cannot change the whole mass, shall at least leaven it and ameliorate it; and thus help it onwards towards that social perfection which it will never wholly attain to here; but will approximate towards in proportion as this element predominates. And whilst leaving to political economy its own peculiar sphere, of investigating mankind and society, considered as composed of the great mass. little * influenced by higher teaching, and chiefly led by more or less enlightened self-interest; it will teach it not to disregard or overlook considerations and results derived from higher principles; and whilst treating of the production and distribution of positive riches, not to consider them as coextensive or synonymous with social happiness; in treating of society to recognise the power of other agents than individual self-gratification to promote its development, its comfort, and its progress; and in considering man not to overlook one half of his nature. And this view of the subject at once demonstrates the fallacy of the common answer of political economists to such critics as us, viz., that they do not deny our view or our principles, but say that they only study the science in one point of view; that they only wish to study man in a temporal light, that they only investigate the laws of social progress as they affect this world; the answer is, that it is impossible to study one half of the nature of man, independently of the other half; that the laws of society are a whole, and can be studied only as such. We have already pointed out that by an ambiguity in the use of the words, "riches," "happiness," "self-love," they do confound the two parts; they do mistake their own argument.

^{*} Little as compared to what they ought to be, not little as though the practical effects of Catholic teaching on society were little: the statistics of Catholic and Protestant countries prove the contrary.

Such a system is as rational, as though a man should say. "I wish to study the phenomena of chemistry, irrespective of the laws of electricity; I don't wish to deny the existence of electricity, I only wish for the present to abstract it from the subject, and to investigate the question irrespective of it." The consideration of the chemical agencies, electricity being omitted, would lead us to believe in the existence of phenomena, which experience would disprove: the study of political economy, taking the sensualistic principle as its sole rule, has led to conclusions of which the common sense of mankind, and their experience, has demonstrated the fallacy. In proving this latter truth from its effects, M. Perin has done good service at once to the cause of religion, and of economic science; we trust that he may further develop the argument, a priori, and found a school of Christian economists. There is no other question we know of, of deeper import, or more urgent claims on attention. Political and social economy is the question of the hour, the study of the age. Far and near men's minds are engaged in studying the great problems of social progress; in many lands are laborious students gathering facts to build up the edifice of the science; master minds are engaged in arranging these facts, and deducing from them the laws which they illustrate; and shall Catholics alone be idle; shall we leave to others the teaching of a science which must be lame and imperfect, if not founded on Catholic truth? No: the work before us proves that in the country of Duquetelet exist minds capable of such a task; and in this, if not the country of its birth, at least of its adoption, may we not hope that in an institution similar to that which M. Perin adorns, men will be found capable of studying and developing so noble a science? For let us not deceive ourselves, it is not the work of an hour, or the effort of a day; it requires the calm reflection and the deep thinking which can be found only in a University; it is not the hasty critic of a newspaper, who can explain so deep a question, or men like us, the essayist of a day, who can develop so vast a theme. We can only hope that we may excite others more capable to undertake this task. That the Catholic mind of this country, now aroused to the necessity of vindicating for itself an existence, and building for itself a home, may turn itself to this question, as to others, which it will be its duty and its

task to undertake and to solve; and that, in after ages, amongst the other triumphs which we fondly augur for the revival of learning in Ireland, it may be said, that, if to France be awarded the honour of having given birth to the science of political economy, and England may justly claim the merit of having first made it practical; to Ireland is due the glory of having perfected it, by having made it Catholic.

ART. IV.—1. Le Ver Rongeur des Sociétés Modernes; ou le Paganisme dans l'Education. Par l' Abbe J. Gaume. Paris, 1851.

2. Recherches Historiques sur les Ecoles littéraires du Christianisme. Par l' Abbe Landriot. Paris, 1852.

3. Des Etudes Classiques et des Etudes Professionelles. Par le Révérend Реве Саноина de la Compagnie de Jesus. Paris, 1852.

NO one can pretend to determine nicely, the influence of the Greek and Roman classics upon modern edu-Their bearing on our moral and intellectual culture is not the less felt for being indirect, though it is for that reason so very difficult to calculate. They can scarcely be said to form the study of a distinct profession; butthey diffuse an influence by which, as by an atmosphere, all the liberal studies are pervaded and embraced, in which they live and move, to which they owe their light and colour, and from which, even if desirable, it seems impossible for them to escape. Still, the purity and salubrity of this atmosphere have not approved themselves equally to all; and a subject of very legitimate enquiry (to say the least) is involved in any plausible doubt upon a matter of such grave importance. The perfection of the literatures of Greece and Rome in their kind proves absolutely nothing; for the climates which nurse the rarest flowers, are not always the most friendly to life. But, right or wrong, the faith of the present age in classical education is simple and unquestioning. In the domain of thought and literature, the classics are believed to communicate to

our general studies a grace and finish, akin to the easy bearing which, in social intercourse, is acquired by the frequentation of good society. Thus you may be a home-spun squire, a legislator of average dulness or average cleverness, a bill discounter, a railway director, or even a railway king; you may stun the Exchequer or lull the Rolls to rest, according to the measure of your gifts, and all this, having a very pale tincture of classical learning or none at all. But if you mean to embellish affluent leisure, or dignify professional toil, you are expected to know, love, and imitate the great writers of antiquity; you are required to penetrate yourself with their feelings, ideas, and opinions. In this way, therefore, taste, imagination, and judgment, the three faculties in whose development all our intellectual progress is concerned, are handed over to an influence benignant or malign as it may prove; and in a direct ratio to its action on our intellect will be its action upon our morals.

But what are its workings? have the faculties in question been bettered by their relations with the classics? is the taste truer and more discriminating, the imagination less extravagant and gross, the judgment better poised and more serene than they would have been, remote from classic influence? or has the worship of antiquity deprayed our taste, disordered our imagination, and unsettled our judgment? Again, has this perversion of taste indisposed us for the beauties and graces of religion? are the classics in particular to be charged with the irregularity of our imagination? and, when distempered judgments reject the truths and consolations of Christianity, is the disease chargeable upon the classics, and to what extent? Such are the issues, and pregnant ones it must be confessed, which the Abbé Gaume, in the work before us, tenders to the Catholic world—maintaining on his side that the impiety. materialism, and immorality of the present age result inevitably from paganism or the classics being paramount in education.

And issue was soon knit. The Abbé Landriot in his "Recherches Historiques sur les Ecoles littéraires du Christianisme;" the Père Daniel, who fitly represented the greatest of all educational communities, that of Jesus; the Père Pitra; and the Chevalier Lenormand, were prompt and decided in their antagonism to the Abbé Gaume's theories: while it was reserved to another Jesuit, the Père Cahours,

to close the controversy in a work so practical and closely reasoned, as fully to redeem the promise in its title, to establish the utility and beauty of the relations between classical and professional studies. On the other hand the Archbishop of Rheims, under whose patronage and plenary approbation M. Gaume's work had issued, the Bishop of Arras, who when Bishop of Langres, had anticipated the author's views in a letter to the director of his seminary. and the writers of the "Univers," than whom there are few more accomplished journalists, or more devoted Catholics, all gave to his doctrines an earnest and energetic support, as did M. de Montalembert likewise, but to a limited extent only. A little later the controversy took rather a menacing turn on the occasion of a letter addressed by the Bishop of Orleans to the superiors of his seminaries. These ecclesiastics, peculiarly fortunate one should say, in a prelate, from study and experience, perhaps the first authority on the subject of education, applied to him for counsel and ease of conscience in a matter having such immediate relation to their own duties. He, in acceding to their prayer, exhorted them to calm their scruples, and adhere without uneasiness to the system authorised by universal adoption in the Church; and while inviting them to encourage their pupils in a temperate and enlightened admiration of antiquity, recommended a due and sedulous attention to the sacred classics as well. On this letter the "Univers" thought proper to comment in a somewhat peremptory and trenchant style it must be admitted, and drew from the illustrious bishop a pastoral in which, though the entire question is opened up, it is dealt with, less perhaps on the merits than in reference to the imprudent zeal of the religious journals. The Archbishops of Lyons, Paris, and Bordeaux, with the bishop of Chartres, and more than a moiety of the rest supported Mgr. Dupanloup; and strong opinions were put forward regarding the tendency of M. Gaume's doctrines. Thenceforward the incidental question of religious journalism a good deal embittered where it did not actually absorb, the main controversy. But though abundantly interesting, and suggestive too, we shall not further advert to it; especially as the principal question seems closed; and the old system, prudently and gradually reformed, will be suffered to repose, as it has done, on the sanction, implied at least, of so many pontiffs, saints, and doctors. Better so—for

it seems impossible to distinguish between this question and the humanist controversy that preceded the schism of the fifteenth century. Indeed, though somewhat in anticipation of the subject, we shall express our regret to see the pretensions of the shallow D'Aubigné on behalf of his heresy, affirmed by M. l'Abbé Gaume, when he says that the revival of letters favoured its spread. The facts tell differently. From Italy, where the revival triumphed unopposed, Protestantism was contemptuously flung back; whereas in Germany, the battle-field of humanist and obscurantist, where the war was literally ἀκήρυκτος καὶ ἄσπόνdos, Protestantism had its vantage ground, and never met defeat or check till the "classic paganism" of the Jesuits made head against it. Had Reuchlin and Erasmus been cherished and glorified by universal Germany, as Vida and Sannazzario were by universal Italy, we do not say there would have been no Luther and no schism; but certainly all the literature of the country would not have been hostile to religion, or at best indifferent. Reuchlin might have emulated his brother humanist and friend, Sir Thomas More, and Melancthon have been such another humanist as Fisher of Rochester.

In all this we are as far from wishing to throw the slur of obscurantism on the Abbé Gaume, or the venerable prelates who adopt his views, as we are unwilling to accept that of paganism for those of the adverse opinion, whose ideas we rather incline to share. Nor in a Church like that of France-sublime amid national Churches for every gift of genius and virtue, uniting the "splendere" and ardere" of St. Bernard in a degree so uncommon and so beautiful—was a disastrous issue to be looked for from a controversy like the last; but we believe that no friend of her peace at a juncture so hopeful for her, and in her, for the universal Church, will regard the quiet close of the question as other than a sweet and good dispensation of Providence; while those who originated the discussion have equal reason with those who disputed parts of their thesis, to rejoice in the conspicuous place assigned to the sacred classics, ancient and modern, in the reformed university system of France.

Having said just so much, indispensably requisite to put the book before us in a proper aspect for examination, we shall offer an extract. One of the most strongly marked passages in the work, and one that will serve best, perhaps, to introduce our short analysis, is that in which the author first alludes to the revival of letters in the fifteenth century, p. 3:

"We must substitute Christianity for paganism in education.
"We must re-knit the chain of Catholic teaching, manifestly.

sacrilegiously, wofully broken, all over Europe four centuries ago.

"We must place once more beside the cradle of the rising

"We must place once more beside the cradle of the rising generation, the pure spring of truth, instead of the unclean cisterns of error, spirituality instead of sensuality, order instead of disorder, life instead of death.

"Sixteen years back, the author of 'Catholicism in Education' was the first to point out ex professo the gnaw-worm of modern Europe. Avowedly bent on overturning the empire usurped by paganism over the education of Christians, he preached the holy war. Without pretending to prophecy, it was not very difficult for him to foretell that society would come to ruin, unless she made haste to change her system, -but on the one hand to attack our classic paganism was then a kind of blasphemy, and on the other, society intoxicated with sensuality, lent ear to none but the syrens, whose perfidious strains were drawing her on to the abyss. For both these reasons his voice hardly found an echo, and less fortunate than the hermit in the middle ages, he scarce met a few champions ready for the fight-alone between the cross-fire of enemies and even friends, quit the field he should—he had been right before his time, and he withdrew till it should be time for him to be right."

This is open and advised speaking no doubt; but though a foreign element may have been admitted into Christian education some four hundred years ago, it will be found safe to qualify the change more reservedly, than as "a manifest, sacrilegious, and woful breach in the chain of Catholic instruction," when we bear in mind that what the author condemns, has been sanctioned, or at least tolerated, by the Church for the four centuries in question. Indeed, the passage has a rather unpleasant resemblance to the famous declaration in the Church of England homilies, that all Christendom for hundreds of years before the Reformation had been sunk in superstition, witchcraft, idolatry, and what not besides. But to proceed—the actual disorganization and threatened dissolution of society has, according to the Abbé Gaume, been in progress since the revival of letters in the fifteenth century, is its necesconsequence, and can only be arrested by giving the

supremacy in education to Christian literature. and unequivocal position has its own advantages, but perhaps it will appear that in this instance a better stand might have been made with a less extended and open front; at any rate, it requires no trifling weight or insignificant array of arguments for its protection. Accordingly, the author draws those arguments from authorities that every Catholic is bound to reverence, and we are made to learn that the fathers, or certain of them, while sanctioning to a limited degree the reading of the pagan authors, and even the frequenting of pagan schools, peremptorily forbade these influences all access to the youthful mind, until, under far different training, it should have acquired a Christian habit of thought, and energy of character, sufficient to resist the seductions with which the literature of the ancients is so thickly strewn. the counsels of the fathers commanded respect, that is to say, during the middle ages, the predominance of sacred over profane letters, and of sacred over profane art, was the nurse of a civilization superior to our own, because more Christian. In proof of this are alleged the comparative brotherhood of men in those times, resulting from unity of faith, the savagery of war mitigated by the courtesies of chivalry, the hand of charity never closed and never weary, the tenderness, the simplicity, the openheartedness of literature, and lastly, the sublime architecture that wedded solidity to lightness, that wrought the living rock into a web like the creation of a cunning needle, and the daring play of whose imagination might well seem inspired by a faith, amongst whose privileges it was one to move mountains. Then came the taking of Constantinople, and dispersion of the Greek rhetoricians over the West. These, like Æneas carrying the gods of Troy, brought along with them the classics "dans leur baggage de proscrits," and set up their worship in Italy. Then did princes, prelates, and popes bow down and offer incense, then was the homely Latin of the fathers tried by the severest standard of Ciceronian purity and found wanting, then were periods modulated to the rigorous nicety of the "esse videatur," then did the hymns of the Church grate even upon consecrated ears.

"Tunc horridus ille Defluxit numerus Saturnius et grave virus Munditiæ pepulere."

Religion herself was made to masquerade in pagan trappings, her priests were flamines, her sacrifice res divina, her saints were divi, their canonization was an anotheosis, and they were pronounced additi aris, the Saviour is called a hero, and our Lady of Loretto Dea Lauretana. Vida sings rank heresy without knowing it, in deference to the laws of metre, and Sannazzaro had nothing better, not to say nothing worse, than tuneful nonsense for the praises of the Virgin Mother. Next,pagan philosophy proclaimed the supremacy of reason, and reason, drunk with self-conceit, reeled into the sanctuary, called herself private judgment, and begat the Reformation. The evil did not stop here; the Jesuits themselves, those children of the crisis, raised up by the reparative energy of Christianity for her defence and final triumph, were obliged to become humanists likewise, and joined in the very defection from Christian education, which had caused the evils it was their mission to encoun-Since then the disease had gone on increasing. Pagan notions had penetrated into every profession and science. The politics of Aristotle, the republic of Plato, and the laws of Lycurgus, were considered manuals of statesmanship. Tyrannicide was commended as a proper and legitimate means of working political changes. Precedents more modern than those of Harmodius and Aristogiton were scarce regarded. Fénelon, whom however the author mentions, honoris causâ, was a lover of Grecian art, Grecian costume, and Grecian fable, and in a certain passage of "Télémaque," under the deleterious influence of his pagan tastes, stands as deeply committed to communism as M. Cabet or Considérant. At length the ferment of pagan ideas eventuated in the French revolution, or rather series of revolutions; the oratory, legislation, and art, of all which were thoroughly and exclusively pagan. And now that society has been brought to the verge of dissolution by paganism in education, the natural remedy lies in a return to Christianity. There must be no faltering, no temporising—a delicate and steady, but a bold and quick knife, is needed to lop off the gangrene. The classics must have their "deux Décembre," as well as the late representatives of the people. Chrysostom must displace Demosthenes, Cicero must give way to Augustine, Thucydides to Eusebius, and Aristotle's ethics to the "Summa" of St. Thomas. The superior beauty of

the pagan style is altogether imaginary; it has beauties of its own, but of a different and far lower order—and then to treat or understand Christian philosophy, you must be familiar with the language it has created-the fathers adopted that language from choice, and the decline of Roman literature had nothing to do with the imputed corruption of their style. A revelation was needed to detach St. Jerome from Cicero; and Austin, that was melted to tears by the sorrows of Dido, might have rounded his periods, and Atticised his style, had he thought fit, but those great men took up their peculiar manner advisedly, and proclaimed that they did so; in fine, if society has any chance of reseating herself upon a solid and durable basis, it is by letting their spirit guide and govern all education whatsoever, a spirit which, if it be insufficient to reanimate the dry bones of a generation dead to faith, can still breathe life, and strength, and godliness into the young

and uncorrupted. Such is the me

Such is the meagre outline we are enabled to offer of the theory which the Abbé Gaume proposes to enforce and illustrate in the "Ver Rongeur." We are far from wishing to insinuate that he has not filled up this outline with minute and curious learning, as well as with clever and interesting argument. On the contrary, there are few of the facts he urges, to which, if we do not allow the entire import he claims for them, a great interest does not attach. It cannot be denied that the classics have been perverted to vicious and immoral uses: but there are few vessels of honour that have not been used unto dishonour; things of far more unmixed good than the writings of the ancients have been evilly employed; and the principle of rejecting what is good, for the harm it may have done by being misapplied, would carry us a great deal too far. Much of what the learned author alleges, is good against the abuse. or the exclusive use of the classic authors; and certainly the historical picture he gives of its results cannot be said to be over-charged. Thus, in a quotation the author gives us from M. Bastiat's work, "Baccalaureat et Socialisme," we read, p. 299:

"What education has infused into the mind will pass into our actions. It is admitted that Sparta and Rome are models; ergo, we must imitate or parody them. One man wishes to establish Olympic games, another demands Agrarian laws, and a third calls for the black broth of the slaves. What did Robespierre desire?

To exalt men's souls to the level of the republican virtues of antiquity (3 Nivôse an iii.). What was the wish of Saint-Just? To offer us the happiness of Sparta and Athens, and that every citizen should carry under his cloak the knife of Brutus. (23 Niv. an iii.) What were the aspirations of the sanguinary Carrier? That all our youth should contemplate henceforward the chafing-dish of Scævola, the death of Cicero, and the sword of Cato. What did Rabaut Saint Etienne advocate? That in accordance with the precepts of Crete and Sparta, the state should take possession of its subject from the very cradle, and even before his birth. (16 Dec. 1792.) What was asked by the section of the Quinze-Vingts? That a church should be consecrated to liberty, and an altar erected, on which should burn a perpetual fire, fed by young vestals. (19 Mars, 1794.) What did the entire convention wish? That our communes should be inhabited by none but Brutus' and Publicolas."

After showing that classic paganism, ignorant of the true source of power, can furnish us with no theories that do not involve the despotism of the many or of the one, after enumerating the monstrous and anti-social immoralities embodied in the systems of Lycurgus, Plato, and Aristotle, and after quoting from Fénelon, Rollin, and Montesquieu, to show how much their opinions were leavened with paganism by the works of the ancients, the author comes to Rousseau:—

"As time wears on, the fruit of the pagan tree ripens apace. After Montesquieu comes Rousseau. His spirit, beyond that of any other, animated the French revolution. 'His works,' says Louis Blanc, 'were on the table of the committee of public safety. Those paradoxes, which his own age looked upon as strokes of literary daring, were soon to re-echo in the assemblies of the nation, passing for dogmatic truths, trenchant as a sword. His style brought to mind the vehement and pathetic language of a son of Cornelia-Pagan in language, Rousseau was pagan in sentiment as well. He himself says, that the reading of Plutarch made him what he was. Then paying homage to Sparta, his nursing-mother, he exclaims: 'Shall I forget it was in Greece arose that city as illustrious for her happy ignorance as for the wisdom of her laws, that republic of demi-gods rather than men, so superior did their virtues appear to those of human nature? O Sparta, everlasting reproach to vain erudition! While the vices led on by the fine arts were introducing themselves into Athens; while a tyrant was collecting with so much care the works of the prince of poets, thou didst banish from thy walls learning and the learned.'

"After having by these declamations filled the public mind with Spartan notions, and disposed it for the atrocious Vandalism of the French revolution, he continues to draw his inspiration from beau-

tiful antiquity, that he may completely sap the foundations of society. 'I shall imagine myself,' he says, 'in the Lyceum of Athens, repeating the lessons of my masters, with a Plato and a Xenocrates for my judges, and the human race for audience. As long as men were satisfied with their rustic cabins, as long as they were content to sew with fish bones their dress of skin, to deck themselves with shells and feathers, or to paint their bodies in various colours.....as long as their work was limited to what one might do singly, they lived sound, free, and happy. From the moment one man required the aid of another, as soon as it came to be seen that one man might find his advantage in having provision for two, equality disappeared, property advanced, work became necessary. Metallurgy and agriculture were the two arts whose discovery brought about this mighty revolution. The poet thinks it was gold and silver, the philosopher knows it to have been iron and corn that civilized man, and ruined the human race.'-(Disc. sur l'Inégal, des Cond.)

"To leave the social state and fall back with all speed into a state of nature, to disregard every relation of superiority, respect, affection, and property established by the social compact amongst men, to proclaim the inalienable and unrestricted right of every one to everything that tempts him and is within his reach, such are, according to Rousseau, the natural duties of man. Had he died some years later, he would have seen with his own eyes these duties literally discharged by his disciples; and Lycurgus, Plato, and Xenocrates, his worthy masters, thrill with exultation at having

found an interpreter so faithfully followed."-p. 323.

Mirabeau, Robespierre, and St. Just, by their false notions of property and liberty, as well as by their contempt of labour, all avowedly drawn from the classics, furnish the author with a series of quotations; closing which he says, p. 328, et seq.:—

"Let us close these quotations, which it would be easy to multiply. Let me only be allowed to crown them with the following anecdote. When the French constitution of the year III. was in agitation, Hérault de Séchelles, a member of the commission appointed to draught the work, could find no better model than the laws of Minos. Under the circumstances he eagerly wrote to a friend of his, the author of Anacharsis, and conservator of the national library, to send him without delay the code of the Cretan legislator! Let any one now attempt to deny the power of college recollections and the social influence of beautiful antiquity.

"In order to make the influence of classic paganism less apparent, it will be said: The lower orders know nothing of Plato or Lycurgus, and yet they are socialist at present. I shall leave to

M. Thiers, our great admirer of the pagans, the honour of replying. 'Secondary instruction,' he says, 'brings the children of the enlightened classes acquainted with the ancient tongues. Now in teaching them Latin and Greek, we teach them not mere words, but noble and sublime things, that is to say, the history of human nature, under images simple, grand, and indelible. Secondary instruction forms what we call the enlightened classes of a nation. Now if the enlightened classes do not constitute the entire nation, they characterise it. Their vices, their qualities, their good or evil inclinations, soon become those of the entire country—they constitute the people itself by the contagion of their ideas and their sentiments. Antiquity, (let us have the courage to say so to a vain-glorious age,) antiquity lays claim to all that is grandest in the world. Let us, gentlemen, let us suffer childhood to remain in antiquity as in a calm, peaceable, and healthful asylum, destined to preserve it fresh and pure.'—Rapport, etc., 1844.

"Yes, gentlemen, continue to send childhood to this beautiful antiquity, where slavery is the basis of the social system, where the mutual hatred of castes is the universal feeling, where divorce is sanctioned by law, where Socialism is taught by philosophy, glorified by eloquence, and sung by poesy; continue to set up as a model the calm of ancient Rome, the sanctity of ancient Rome, and rely upon childhood coming back to you fresh and pure."

It is not to be denied that the classics worked evil in the men of bad hearts, or weak heads, though quick intelligence, from whom those quotations are drawn. vicious organisation extracted all the venom, and rejected the aliment of intellectual food; but the same danger does not and cannot exist for all. Even if it did, there would be little virtue in removing the study of the classics, as the Abbé Gaume proposes, to the first years of manhood. Indeed, it would seem to be the very putting of new wine into old bottles, against which we are cautioned by the The fathers undoubtedly were well supreme authority. advised in recommending the postponement of the classic studies, and frequentation of pagan schools, till the mind of the Christian should have acquired strength and tone. But it must be borne in mind, that the Christians of that period were in contact with living and working paganism, as they now are with living and working Protestantism; that the fables of Hesiod and Homer, which now rank for credibility, with those of Æsop, were then the mysteries of an existing religion; and that, to expose the mind of the young to its influence in books or schools, was pretty much the same as it would be now to send a Catholic boy to the

endowed school at Enniskillen or Dungannon. dangers even now; but they are to be met by expedients not so direct or extensive in their application as those demanded by our author. The system of education throughout Europe is not so vicious as its administration. Place the classics, like the Scriptures, in the hands of unauthorised and unqualified expounders, and they cannot fail of doing harm. On the other hand, entrust their management to men who have a mission, whose faith and morals are as undoubted as their learning, and there is little reason to fear for the result. Unfortunately, however, the able writer is so completely carried away by his theory, that instead of suggesting practicable reforms, he proposes sudden and radical change; whereas, to advocate a large, though gradual infusion of sacred literature into our general studies, would be keeping within the bounds of feasibility, and acting with due respect for a very sensible maxim of M. de Montalembert, himself an admirer of the Abbé Gaume—that nothing is legitimate but what

is possible.

Nor, again, with regard to the schism of the fifteenth century, would it be difficult to assign causes for it much nearer the surface than any that he has mentioned. political state of Europe, and especially of the empire, were greatly concerned in it beyond a doubt; but, above all, the nearly universal relaxation of morals favoured the spread of heresy, as certain states of the atmosphere transmit, and even engender disease. And in the particular instance of France, similar causes co-operated to bring about her revolution, and the terrible disorganisation of society which is still felt in that great country. The feudal system there, as everywhere else, was kept in vigour long after its reason of existence had died out by the fusion of the dominant race with the vanguished; and when Louis XIV. broke the power of the nobles, he made it less worth their while to cultivate the good-will of their retainers, without at all elevating the condition or diminishing the services of these latter. Thus were dissolved the relations of protection and defence which had previously subsisted between lord and vassal, while everything odious or repulsive in their connexion was preserved. But, as before said, the portentous immorality of France drew upon her a judicial wilfulness, and it was to drown the voice of conscience that men raised in their

hearts the fool's cry,—There is no God. Not that it is pretended this will account in every particular for the present state of things; but certainly it supplies considera-

tions not to be neglected.

Nor can the Abbé Gaume be said to be altogether fair in his description of society during the middle ages. Was it, after all, so tranquil, so religious, and so brotherly, as to deserve all the good that is said of it? Certainly those who disparage the ages of faith are insensible to a thousand virtues and graces that hardly flourish now as they used then, and no Catholic can sympathise with the pestilent writers that professionally traduce the Catholic times; that whine over the extinction of Moorish civilisation in Spain, and deplore every triumph of religion. But it does appear that the admirers of the middle ages are too exclusive in their panegyric. One would think there had been, in those days, no war, no rapine, no immorality, no heresy; we are called on to forget the Punic faith of princes and nobles,—the turbulence of burghers and brutality of peasants,—Louis XI. and Pedro the Cruel, -the feuds of the Guelphs and Ghibellines,-of the Armagnacs and Bourguignons,—the English maraudings in France and the Wars of the Roses at home,—the dark villanies of Genoa, Venice, and the swarm of Italian republics,-the freebooting, desolation, and massacre that extend over so large a period of the middle ages,-and the prevalence of immorality to that degree that spuriousness was a matter of pride, decorated with a special heraldic distinction, and having for its apanage some of the sublimest dignities in the Church.

We cannot cancel the handwriting of St. Bernard standing against the simony and nepotism that disgraced religion in his own day, when, as he complains, the pastoral staff was wielded by infant hands almost smarting from the rod. Waldo and Wickliffe belonged to the middle ages, and to none other; nor is it quite clear that we of the fourth and fifth generation may not be expiating in our own persons some of the enormities of our forefathers in those very times. The fact is, there must be scandals in the Church; but they form no part of her, and exist without prejudice to her divine attributes. Her charity is as expansive and inventive as ever. Francis Xavier, Vincent de Paul, and Alphonsus, Liguori, have held on their course as unchecked and unembarassed by paganism, as if they had

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lived under Gregory the Great. The Society of Jesus. the Priests of the Mission, the Association for the Propagation of the Faith, the Brotherhood of the Christian Doctrine, and the Sisterhood of Mercy, are as rich in works and merits as any institution at any period. We cannot go back to the middle ages—we cannot bring the middle ages to our own, we must deal with what we have and look to God for help. There are excellent beauties of different orders, in both pagan and Christian classics; and all are worthy of admiration in their place and degree. If men of the world insist on taking their notions of oratory from Cicero's and Aristotle's treatises —if a dramatist will observe the unities, and stick to the regular legitimate sort of thing, in five acts, out of respect for Horace-if people borrow the canons of criticism from Aristotle, Longinus, or Quintilian; if even a bishop like Fénelon, have an opinion of his own about Demosthenes; these are preferences nowise sinful; and when Churchmen, by falling in with tastes like these, win the hearts, and regulate the conduct of the youthful and mature, they only follow the example of the apostle, who made himself all to all, that he might gain all to Christ. This is what the Jesuits did, and are doing now, here and in France. While the Protestant literati of Germany and elsewhere, with few exceptions, amused themselves word catching, the Jesuits took down the harp of antiquity from its willow, and the very Borysthenes flowed to measures that might have charmed the cascades of Tibur-put together the Latin verses of Buchanan, Milton, Cowley, Gray, Addison, and Johnson; and, worthy as they are of all praise, they will not equal in quantity, not to speak of excellence, the poems of Petau alone, composed amid the labours of controversial theology of which he was the admitted oracle. These are glories we are not willing to disparage, much less to forego, especially in presence of Protestantism, as shallow and brawling in pretension, as it is impudent in slander. Taking all this into account we can afford to be tolerant of the false taste occasionally visible in Vida, Sannazzaro and their brethren. They are all, in some respects, very absurd; but to quarrel with Vida, for instance, when he calls our Lord a hero, or the Blessed Virgin diva, is to say the least of it, severe. At the present day, if a polite Frenchman tell you he is "désolé," at any disappointment of yours, the phrase is

nowise suggestive of blighted hopes, or blank despair; it is not followed by rending of garments, or any gesture more demonstrative than, perhaps, a quiet shrug. Or if the same person describe anything that catches his fancy, as "adorable," you need not pause to enquire if his worship be doulia, or latria; and in Latin, a language so abounding in complimentary superlatives, if a poet be called divine, or his inspiration affirmed, or even if he be promised a shrine and altar, as Virgil was by Vida, no one attaches any serious meaning to these pompous forms. But when the Abbé Gaume falls out with the nomenclature of science, for being Greek, and will not allow the use of such terms as Deity, or Supreme Being, because sometimes found in pagan writers—it is really too violent; and with all due deference we shall continue to use the profane term centre, as more convenient, and even more Catholic than mittel-punct, or middle-point; and if we have occasion to speak of the Zodiac, we shall not borrow or translate the German thier-kreiss. No doubt there has been too much attention given to the dead, and too little to the living languages—unquestionably the history of the Christian Church, its heroes and philosophers should be matter of study more than heretofore; and equally true the style and spirit of these great writers has been little understood or valued; but we cannot hope to bring things to a better condition by bold cures and universal medicines. Put education into proper hands and the greatest step is achieved. The present position of the Jesuits in France, is for us a more hopeful sign than would be the introduction of the very system called for by the Abbé Gaume. We confess, moreover, we should not be sorry to see one of the Latin tragedies of Petau, coupled with one of Seneca's, in a college course, or a book of the Christiados with one of the Iliad, or a portion of Vanière's Res Rustica with the Georgics. Let our countryman, Sedulius, have a place too, if need be; and make room for the hymns of St. Gregory Nazianzen; but above all things let us avoid narrowing the path to heaven, let us not raise scruples in the timid, or embarrass the laborious with crude and untried theories; let that happy facility which makes the Church adapt herself to every form of civil government be visible in her dealings with education; let it be our study to hedge it round with wholesome influences, to deal with the smaller and less obvious but important details, taking care to avoid those novelties that cause panic and disgust, and work their own defeat, but, along with that, divide and scandalize the Church.

ART. V.—1. Reise nach den Skandinavischen Norden und der Insel Island, in Jahre, 1845. Von Ida Pfelffer. II. Th. Pesth, 1846.—[Travels to the Scandinavian North and to the Island of Iceland, in the year 1845. By Ida Pfelffer. 2 vols. 12mo. Pesth, 1846.]

2. A Visit to Iceland and the Scandinavian North. By MADAME IDA PFEIFFER, 1 vol. 12mo. London: Ingram, Cooke, and Co., 1852.

3. Erindringer fra en Reise til Shetlandsöerne, Orkenöerne, og Skotland i Sommeren 1839. Af Christian Plöyen. Amtmann og Commandant paa Færöerne. Kjöbenhavn, 1840.—[Recollections of a Journey to the Shetland and Orkney Islands, and to Scotland, in the Summer of 1839. By Christian Plöyen. Royal Lieutenant and Commandant in the Feroe Isles. 1 vol. 12mo. Copenhagen: 1840.]

THEN a lady takes pen in hand, and appears before the world as an authoress, the natural consideration with which we treat the gentler sex appears to be forgotten, and the critic praises or blames as freely as when reviewing the literary productions of his fellow-men. We suppose that there is a certain equality in the republic of letters, which does not admit even of the claims of the softer sex to exemption from the common laws of criticism. nay, it would seem that in many cases they are subjected to ordeals more severe than ourselves. We do not exactly understand why this should be so; perhaps it is that we have constituted ourselves an oligarchy in the literary world, and when our spouses or our sisters, leaving the store-room and the nursery, sit down to write of their experiences and their feelings, we are more disposed to cavil at their books, than at the dullest productions of so-called learned men. Of late years, however, this prejudice has in some degree abated, or rather it has yielded to pressure

from without, for so much talent and vivacity has been exhibited by the lady authoresses of the last twenty years, that they have almost, in some departments, driven the sterner sex from the field. It is universally acknowledged that their writings exhibit a softness unattainable by ourselves, joined to a quick searching insight into the relations of society, far beyond that possessed by ordinary men, and even by those who may claim to be the most learned and accomplished amongst us. Perhaps in no respect has this peculiar excellence of female writers been more apparent, than in the volume of travels that have of late years been published by our fair tourists and travellers. Immersed as we are in business, science, or politics, we are accustomed to pay slight attention to the details of the dress, or conversation of the ladies of our own circles, we feel and acknowledge their charms, but seldom investigate how their influence is preserved either over ourselves, or among their female acquaintances. When, however, a talented female writer describes scenes or personages in foreign lands, we are immediately interested and attentive, for we know that they have been viewed and considered from different points from those on which we take our stand, and often under such circumstances of time and place, as we ourselves could not hope to enjoy. With what delight and interest have we not perused the pages of the Englishwoman in Egypt, or the elegant "Travels of a German Countess," works written with all the talent and energy of a man, joined to the acute observation and ready wit of an accomplished woman. In matters of society, of dress, and of conventional life, ladies are as completely at home as Lepsius among the Pyramids, or Layard among the ruins of Nineveh; every custom, every peculiarity is scanned with a practised eye, and is noted down in sweet and gentle lines, which win us by their softness, and charm by the brilliancy of their wit.

But when lady travellers take a bolder flight, and aspire to reach lands beyond the general track; when they encounter perils and hardships for which their constitutions are supposed to be unfitted, we regard them with a jealous eye, and visit their books with the severest criticism, if they do not rise above the ordinary level of tourists' journals. To this jealous scrutiny, the authoress of the first of the works upon our list has rendered herself peculiarly liable. Not only has she visited climes and traversed

lands rarely trodden by the foot of the European traveller. but she has braved the perils of these journeys alone, unaided, and poorly supplied with funds, supported only as she tells us, by a dauntless spirit and an irresistible desire to look upon the grandest and the most beautiful of nature's To this strong instinct, or passion of our authoress, we cannot in any way object; but when she publishes her travels, and appeals to public voice and opinion. we are forced to examine her works, and judge them by their intrinsic merits alone. That Madame Pfeiffer is a woman of great courage and indomitable energy is unquestionable; she has traversed Europe from Iceland to Constantinople, and since completing these journeys, she has circumnavigated the world. But have the public at large profited in any way by her travels? Has she brought to light any new facts, has she clothed well-known objects and scenes with fresh colours, has she in remote districts described customs or observances from a novel or even a feminine point of view? Are her travels entitled to rank higher than the ordinary journeys of tourists? save that she encountered more dangers and difficulties than most men, in the desolate regions she visited. We are compelled to answer in the negative. Her books are not even feminine; any ordinary man could have written and described as she has done; there is no softness, no female grace and acuteness of observation, in a word, she is but a gentleman tourist, and a very average one, decked out in female guise. We have not learned a single new fact from her Iceland journey; she is evidently most imperfectly acquainted with the history of this singular island, and totally ignorant of its language. In describing scenery, she is laboured, and seldom happy; of the state of Iceland society, and especially of the Iceland ladies we hear little, and what she does vouchsafe on this score, are chiefly bitter complaints of the difficulties of approaching the elite of Iceland society, and of the coldness they exhibited towards herself. We are not surprised at the shyness thus exhibited by the Iceland "haut-ton," for Madame Pfeiffer must have been to them an inexplicable mystery. She was neither young nor pretty; she spoke only German or French; she came to Iceland with few recommendations; she had not the prestige of riches, and possibly not even of good manners; her pursuits, her ideas, seem to have been all thoroughly masculine. The good housewives of Iceland had probably

never heard of her previous wanderings; she had no pretensions to science like the learned Germans and Danes who occasionally visit the country, and her ignorance of their language formed an impassable barrier between them. They could not understand why a lady, on the shady side of forty, should leave her children and her home, to wander unprotected into the remotest regions of the earth, trusting herself to rude guides, and braving hardships from which ordinary men would shrink, without any visible object.

The Iceland gentry are mostly engaged in trade—their ideas are necessarily limited, and Frau Pfeiffer, who was neither young, a beauty, nor a wit, would be no addition to their society. It must be confessed too, that with all her ardour for sightseeing, and her perpetual references to her hardy spirit of endurance, Frau Pfeiffer is yet full of complaints of the inconvenience she experienced on her Iceland journey, from the first day that she sailed from Copenhagen till her return. She had evidently formed too high an idea of the virtues of the Iceland peasant; she had not inquired into, or she had underrated the difficulties of travelling in that thinly-peopled land. She arrived there slenderly provided with money, forgetting that the wilder and more uncultivated the country, the greater is the cost The Iceland peasant enters on his journey with a long cavalcade of horses, laden with provisions, tents, and every requisite he can procure for his comfort; the wants of the luxurious European are unknown to him—his climate is severe, but he is inured to the cold wintry blast; the diet is coarse and rude, but he has never known any other: the dwellings of his fellow-peasants are inconceivably filthy, but his own farm-house presents no better example of cleanliness. Madame Pfeiffer had to purchase her horses for her journeys—she travelled without a stock of provisions—she was not even provided with a tent, yet she could not induce herself often to sleep in the stifling atmosphere and filth of the Iceland huts, and consequently she suffered much from cold, hunger and fatigue. Without a scientific object, without a knowledge of the language, and last and not least, without a well-stocked purse, no tourist ought to attempt a journey to Iceland. After all, though Madame Pfeiffer loves to descant on her miseries, she seems never to have been appalled by any difficulties from pursuing her objects. Her descriptions of scenery are passable, though she only visited the districts that have

been described by all northern travellers; in a word, she did no more than make the "grand tour" of Iceland. The southern districts, containing the sulphur mountains, Hecla, and the Geysers, occupied her whole time, and from the rapidity with which she passed from place to place, she had small leisure, even if she had had the ability, to gain accurate information on the phenomena she witnessed, or to enquire into the intellectual or social condition of the inhabitants. Let the reader peruse her work, and then take up Sir George Mackenzie's able tour in Iceland, and he will soon understand how a person may, indeed, see every thing remarkable in the southern districts, and yet may convey no single grain of fresh information to the public. We have been severe, but we hope we have been only just in our criticisms on the work. We were well aware that, to the great mass of the reading public. "A Lady's journey to Iceland "would be an attractive title; and, after all, as the book is admirably translated into English, it will afford much that is novel to a numerous class, who have not had the leisure or the opportunity of making themselves acquainted with the physical features of the remarkable country it describes.

The English version of Madame Pfeiffer's travels, from which we shall make a few extracts, has the rare merit of being more smooth and elegant than the original work itself. The original German has no plates; those that we are favoured with in the English translation, are copied from the works of Sir George Mackenzie and others. We have already stated our conviction, that this translation is remarkably well executed.—it is faithful, yet easy and flowing; a few proper names of persons and of places in Iceland are not accurately rendered, but the errors are Madame Pfeiffer's own, and not the translator's. Still there is one strange error in the English version which we cannot account for. In the description of Copenhagen, the word "Frauenkirche" (Vor Frue Kirke,) -"the Church of our Lady," is rendered into "the Woman's Church!!" The sexes are indeed separated in most of the northern churches, as was formerly the case in England; but we never knew before that the fair sex in Copenhagen had a church entirely to themselves!

We must acknowledge that Madame Pfeiffer, though deficient in the qualifications for writing a good book of travels, is yet an adept in the art and mystery of book-making.

Not less than 46 pages of the German original work are filled with details of her journey to Copenhagen from Vienna, by railway, and by steamboat on the Elbe, neither of which modes of conveyance, though they greatly accelerate the progress of the traveller, are very likely to aid him in accumulating useful facts and observations. however, learn from this journey, that at Leipzic, ladies and children eat sausages in the theatre! that the silver shrine in the cathedral at Prague is worth 80,000 florins; and lastly, as if to show that she had not quite put off the failings of her sex, our traveller lost her trunk upon the road, and recovered it with difficulty. We find, too, that it rained terribly during her steamboat voyage down the Elbe to Hamburgh, that the steamer from Kiel to Copenhagen was dirtier than any vessel she had yet seen, and that the cliffs of the island of Möen were white as chalk. which is not surprising, as the rocks are composed of that material! In Copenhagen, her experiences are not remarkable; but she grieves over the youth of the drummerboys of the garrison, and fears that their health and strength must be irretrievably ruined by the huge machines they bear and beat eternally. The Catholic chapel (it seems our authoress is a Catholic) is described as being small, but tasteful in the extreme. A little patriotic feeling may here have interfered with her judgment, as the chapel is maintained by Austria; but in 1836 it was dark, small, and wretchedly adorned.

After some delay, our authoress embarks for Iceland in a trading vessel, and, on entering the North Sea, she is speedily prostrated with sea-sickness. Like many second-rate travellers, Frau Pfeiffer is curious in the details of her miseries and hardships; and she seems, indeed,

to have suffered these in no ordinary degree.

[&]quot;Already, on the seventh day, we descried the coast of Iceland. Our passage had been uprecedentedly quick; the sailors declared that a favourable gale was to be preferred even to steam, and that, on our present voyage, we should have left every steamer in our wake. But I, wretched being that I was, would gladly have dispensed with the services both of gale and steam, for the sake of a few hours' rest. My illness increased so much, that, on the seventh day, I thought I must succumb. My limbs were bathed in a cold perspiration; I was weak as an infant, and my mouth felt parched and dry. I saw that I must now either make a great effort or give up entirely; so I roused myself, and, with the assistance of the

cabin-boy, gained a seat, and promised to take any and every remedy which should be recommended. They gave me hot watergruel with wine and sugar. But it was not enough to be obliged to force this down. I was further compelled to swallow small pieces of raw bacon, highly peppered, and even a mouthful of rum. This physicking was continued for two long, long days, and then I began slowly to recover.

"I have here circumstantially described both my illness and its cure, because so many people are unfortunately victims to the complaint, and when under its influence, cannot summon resolution to take sustenance. I should advise all my friends not to hold out so long as I did, but to take food at once, and to continue to do so

until the system will receive it.

"Our ship's company consisted of Herr Knudson, Herr Brüge, the captain, the mate, and six or seven sailors. Our mode of life in the cabin was as follows:-In the morning, at seven o'clock, we took coffee; but whence this coffee came Heaven knows. I drank it for eleven days, and could never discover anything which might serve as a clue in my attempt to discover the country of its growth. At ten o'clock we had a meal consisting of bread and butter and cheese, with cold beef or pork, all excellent dishes for those in health. The second course of this morning-meal was tea-water. In Scandinavia, by the way, they never say I drink tea, the word water is always added,—'I drink tea-water.' Our tea-water was, if possible, worse than its predecessor, the incomparable coffee. Thus I was beaten at all points. The eatables were too strong for me, the drinkables too-too-too-I can find no appropriate epithet-probably too artificial. I consoled myself with the prospect of dinner; but alas! too soon this sweet vision faded into thin air. On the sixth day I made my first appearance at the covered table, and could not help at once remarking the cloth which had been spread over it. At the commencement of our journey it might perhaps have been white; now it was most certainly no longer of that snowy hue. The continual pitching and rolling of the ship had caused each dish to set its peculiar stamp upon the cloth. A sort of wooden network was now laid upon it, in the interstices of which the plates and glasses were set, and thus secured from falling. But before placing it on the table, our worthy cabin-boy took each plate and glass separately, and polished it on a towel which hung near, and in colour certainly rather resembled the dingy floor of the cabin than the bright-hued rainbow. This could still have been endured, but the article in question really did duty as a towel in the morning, before extending its salutary influence over plates and glasses for the remainder of the day.

"On making discoveries such as these, I would merely turn away my eyes, and try to think that perhaps my glass and plate would be more delicately manipulated, or probably escape altogether; and then I would turn my whole attention to the expected dishes.

"First came soup, but instead of gravy soup, it was water soup with rice and dried plums. This, when mingled with red wine and sugar at table, formed an exquisite dish for Danish appetites; but it certainly did not suit mine. The second and concluding course consisted of a large piece of roast beef, with which I had no fault to find, except that it was too heavy for one in my weak state of health. At supper we had the same dishes as at dinner, and each meal was followed by 'tea-water.' At first I could not fancy this bill of fare at all; but within a few days after my convalescence, I had accustomed myself to it, and could bear the sea diet very well."—p. 60.

We apprehend that the most delicate viands would be insupportable to any one labouring under sea sickness, but we are certain that Madame Pfeiffer is right when she says, that the evils of sea sickness are much prolonged by refusal to take sustenance. The diet on board the ship seems to have been the ordinary fare of a trading vessel, where luxuries could not be expected to be found, and the bad weather was such as ordinarily occurs in those northern seas at that early period of the year, for it was only the 15th of May when she landed in Iceland, at the port of Havnefiord, which she persists in rendering Havenfiord, a name that is neither German nor Icelandic. Nor has the translator been happy here in rendering the early Norse names; he denominates Harold Haarfagra Harold Harfraga, and Ingolf's name is transmuted into Ingold. We do not find so much fault with the change from Al-Thing, the General Assembly of Iceland, to All-Sing, for the Th in Icelandic is pronounced nearly in this case as a Ts. In spite of her sufferings from sea sickness, our authoress seems to have landed in high spirits, and her first impressions of the new country are sufficiently entertaining.

"I found that Havenfiord consisted merely of three wooden houses, a few magazines built of the same material, and some pea-

sants' cottages.

"The wooden houses are inhabited by merchants, or their factors, and consist only of a ground-floor, with a front of four or six windows. Two or three steps lead up to the entrance, which is in the centre of the building, and opens upon a hall from which doors lead into the rooms right and left. At the back of the house is situated the kitchen, which opens into several back rooms, and into the yard. A house of this description consists only of five or six rooms on the ground floor, and a few attic bed-rooms.

"The internal arrangements are quite European. From these handsome houses I betook myself to the cottages of the peasants,

which have a more indigenous, Icelandic appearance. Small and low, built of lava, with the interstices filled with earth, and the whole covered with large pieces of turf, they would present rather the appearance of natural mounds of earth than of human dwellings, were it not that the projecting wooden chimneys, the low-browed entrances, and the almost imperceptible windows, cause the spectator to conclude that they are inhabited. A dark narrow passage about four feet high, leads on one side into the common room, and on the other to a few compartments, some of which are used as storehouses for provisions, and the rest as winter stables for the cows and sheep. At the end of this passage, which is purposely built so low, as an additional defence against the cold, the fireplace is generally situated. The rooms of the poorer classes have neither wooden walls nor floors, and are just large enough to admit of the inhabitants sleeping, and perhaps turning round in them. whole interior accommodation is comprised in bedsteads, with very little covering, a small table, and a few drawers. Above the beds are fixed rods, from which depend clothes, shoes, and stockings. Rods are also placed round the fire-place, and on these the wet clothes and fish are hung up in company to dry. The smoke completely fills the room, and slowly finds its way through a few breathing-holes into the open air."—P. 69.

No traveller in Iceland has failed to complain of the dense atmosphere and want of cleanliness in the Iceland huts; it should, however, be remembered that one great object is sufficiently answered by their construction, viz., that of excluding the winter's cold. That such uncleanly habits are productive of numerous diseases is well known. and the leprosy which prevailed in the middle ages, still holds its ground in Iceland, and on the western coast of Norway. Madame Pfeiffer speaks of it as the dreadful disease calied Lepra, but Lepra is common enough in England even among the higher classes, and is a totally different disorder from the ancient European leprosy. From Havnefiord our authoress makes her way on horseback to Reikjavik, the capital of the Island, attended by an ancient guide of her own sex. Indeed, this old woman seems to have been one of the greatest curiosities she met with in her travels.

"She is above seventy years of age, but looks scarcely fifty; her head is surrounded by tresses of rich fair hair. She is dressed like a man, undertakes, in the capacity of messenger, the longest and most fatiguing journeys, rows a boat as skilfully as the most practised fisherman, and fulfils all her missions quicker and more exactly than a man; for she does not keep up so good an under-

standing with the brandy bottle. She marched on so sturdily before me, that I was obliged to incite my little horse to greater speed with my riding-whip."—P. 71.

At Reikjavik her reception was but cool; the ladies of the higher Iceland society seem to have shunned and avoided her, but her chief difficulty evidently lay in her ignorance of the language, and we may add, too, of the customs of the country. We are almost inclined to doubt whether she herself was possessed of that true charm of a polished and perfectly easy manner, which is so rarely attained by the "bourgeoise." She reminds us of American travellers, who on their visits to Europe, and especially to England, seem to be ever on the look out for insults. We know not Madame Pfeiffer's social position in Vienna, but we are quite sure that in that capital, as elsewhere, the "bourgeoise" is always distinguishable by her restless anxiety about her position in life, and by her readiness to construe every custom with which she is not acquainted, into a personal offence.

"Nothing was more disagreeable to me than a certain air of dignity assumed by the ladies here; an air which, except when it is natural, or has become so from long habit, is apt to degenerate into stiffness and incivility. On meeting an acquaintance, the ladies of Reikjavik would bend their heads with so stately and yet so careless an air, as we should scarcely assume towards the humblest stranger. At the conclusion of a visit, the lady of the house only accompanies the guest as far as the chamber-door. If the husband be present, this civility is carried a little further; but when this does not happen to be the case, a stranger who does not know exactly through which door he can make his exit, may chance to feel not a little embarrassed. Except in the house of the Stiftsamptmann (the principal official on the island), one does not find a footman who can show the way. In Hamburgh I had already noticed the beginning of this dignified coldness: it increased as I journeyed farther north, and at length reached its climax in Iceland."-P. 73.

There are not many houses in the north of Scotland where Madame Pfeiffer would have found a liveried footman to wait upon her, and in the Shetland islands, with a population equal to that of Iceland, and with many comparatively wealthy landholders, she might have sought in vain for such a functionary. In the extreme north we cannot look for the vivacity of manners or the conventional politeness that distinguishes the society of Vienna, yet we

believe that real hospitality is more cultivated at Reikjavik than in the Austrian capital. Madame Pfeiffer does not seem to have made a favourable impression in the Icelandic capital.

"My visits were unreturned, and I received no invitations, though I heard much, during my stay, of parties of pleasure, dinners, and evening parties. Had I not fortunately been able to employ myself, I should have been very badly off. Not one of the ladies had the kindness and delicacy to consider that I was alone here, and that the society of educated people might be necessary for my comfort. I was less annoyed at the want of politeness in the gentlemen, for I am no longer young, and that accounts for everything. When the women were wanting in kindness, I had no right to expect consideration from the gentlemen. I tried to discover the reason of this treatment, and soon found that it lay in a national characteristic of these people—their selfishness.

"It appears I had scarcely arrived at Reikjavik, before diligent enquiries were set on foot, as to whether I was *rich*, and should see much company at my house; and, in fact, whether much could be

got out of me.

"To be well received, it is necessary either to be rich, or else to travel as a naturalist. Persons of the latter class are generally sent by the European courts to investigate the remarkable productions of the country. They make large collections of minerals, birds, &c.; they bring with them numerous presents, sometimes of considerable value, which they distribute amongst the dignitaries; they are, moreover, the projectors of many an entertainment, and even of many a little ball, &c.; they buy up everything they can procure for their cabinets, and they always travel in company; they have much baggage with them, and consequently require many horses, which cannot be hired in Iceland, but must be bought. On such occasions every one here is a dealer, offers of horses and of collections pour in on all sides. With me this was not the case; I gave no parties, I brought no presents, they had nothing to expect from me, and therefore they left me to myself."—P. 76.

There may be considerable truth in the opinions here promulgated as to the power of riches, in obtaining civility and attention in any part of the world, but Madame Pfeiffer had no right to expect that Iceland would form an exception to this general rule. From her observations we should come to the conclusion, that to be a naturalist, and to be rich, are synonymous terms. Now it is notorious that almost all the travellers who have visited Iceland for the purpose of studying her natural phenomena, have been comparatively poor, and many of them travelled on their

own account, and not with the aid of funds derived from foreign courts. Thieneman, and Schythe, and Gliemann, and Faber, were all slenderly furnished with worldly wealth, but they travelled through Iceland with a well understood object, they could converse more or less with the peasantry, and submitted without complaint to the privations, which excited the Jeremiads of Madame Pfeiffer. We have said that there is nothing novel in her description of the scenery and natural phenomena of the country, she visited only the localities which have been fully described by Hooker, Mackenzie, Barrow, Dillon, and others; she galloped over much ground, and ascended even to the summit of Mount Hecla, but her description of that mountain is as barren as the rock of which the volcano consists. While at Reikjavik she seems, in spite of her complaints of neglect, to have been invited occasionally to a festive party, and on one occasion she kept silence because she did not want to disturb the festivity of the company by conversing in German! We suspect, however, this was not a wise proceeding on her part, however generous it may at first sight appear, and the comparison instituted on that occasion between our authoress and the statue in Don Giovanni was not altogether The food at her lodgings in Reikjavik inappropriate. seems hardly to have suited her taste, but on the whole it was abundant, though coarse, and unaided by any special refinements in culinary art.

We shall conclude our notice of this work by an extract descriptive of an Iceland funeral, and of the night's lodging provided for our authoress in the church of Skalholt.

"I arrived at Thörfastadir while a funeral was going on. As I entered the church, the mourners were busily seeking courage and consolation in the brandy bottle. The law commands, indeed, that this be not done in the church; but if every one obeyed the law, what need would there be of judges? The Icelanders must think so, else they would discontinue the unseemly practice.

"When the priest came, a psalm or a prayer, I could not tell which it was, being Icelandic, was so earnestly shouted by peasants under the leadership of the priest and elders, that the good people waxed quite warm and out of breath. Then the priest placed himself before the coffin, which, for want of room, had been laid on the back of the seats, and with a very loud voice read a prayer which lasted more than half an hour. With this, the ceremony within the church was concluded, and the coffin was carried round the

church to the grave, followed by the priest and the rest of the company. This grave was deeper than any that I had ever seen. When the coffin had been lowered, the priest threw three handfuls of earth upon it, but none of the mourners followed his example. Among the earth which had been dug out of the grave I noticed four skulls, several human bones, and a board of a former coffin. These were all thrown in again upon the coffin, and the grave filled in presence of the priest and the people. One man trod the soil firm, then a little mound was made and covered with grass-plots which were lying ready. The whole business was completed with miraculous speed.

"The little town of Skalholt, my station this night, was once as celebrated in religious matters, as Thingvalla had been politically famous. Here, soon after the introduction of Christianity, the first bishopric was founded in 1098; and the church is said to have been one of the largest and richest. Now Skalholt is a miserable place, and consists of three or four cottages, and a wretched wooden church, which may perhaps contain a hundred persons. It has not even its own priest, but belongs to Thorfarstädir.

"My first business on arriving, was to inspect the yet remaining relics of past ages. First I was shown an oil picture which hangs in the church, and is said to represent the first bishop of Skalholt, Thorlakior, who was worshipped almost as a saint for his strict and pious life."

The translator has altered the word "verehrt," "honoured," into "worshipped," and the word "Mess-kleid," "chasuble," is erroneously rendered "stole."

"After this, preparations were made to clear away the steps of the altar, and several boards of the flooring. I stood expectantly looking on, thinking I should now have to descend into a vault, to inspect the embalmed body of the bishop. I must confess this prospect was not the most agreeable, when I thought of the approaching night I should have to spend in this church, perhaps immediately over the grave of the old skeleton. I had, besides, already had too much to do with the dead for one day, and could not rid myself of the unpleasant grave-odour which I had imbibed in Thorfastädir, and which seemed to cling to my dress and to my nose.

"I was therefore not a little pleased when, instead of the dreaded vault and mummy, I was only shown a marble slab, on which were inscribed the usual notification of the birth, death, &c., of this bishop. Beside this I was shown an old embroidered chasuble, and a simple golden chalice, both of which are said to be relics of the age of Thorlakur.

"I had now seen all that was to be seen, and began to satisfy my physical wants by calling for some hot water to make coffee, &c.

As usual, all the inhabitants of the place ranged themselves in and before the church, probably to increase their knowledge of the human race by studying my peculiarities. I soon, however, closed the door, and prepared a splendid couch for myself. At my first entrance into the church, I had noticed a long box, quite filled with sheep's wool; I threw my rugs over this, and slept as comfortably as in the softest bed. In the morning I carefully teased the wool up again, and no one then could have imagined where I had passed

the night.

"Nothing amused me more, when I had lodgings of this description, than the curiosity of the people, who would rush in every morning as soon as I opened the door. The first thing they said to each other always was, 'Kvar hefur hun sovid?'—'Where can she have slept?' The good people could not conceive how it was possible to spend a night alone in a church, surrounded by a churchyard; they perhaps considered me an evil spirit or a witch, and would too gladly have ascertained how such a creature slept. When I saw their disappointed faces, I had to turn away not to laugh at them."—P. 157.

It is evident that the Icelanders looked on our authoress as no ordinary person, but her sleeping in a church cannot have excited their surprise, as few travellers in Iceland have not had to avail themselves of the shelter of the sacred edifices, during their progress through the country.

Madame Pfeiffer returned from Iceland to Copenhagen in a still smaller and worse-appointed vessel than that in which she had gone out, but she suffered far less from her voyage, and made the tour of Scandinavia before she returned to Vienna. Her book is, indeed, a hasty narrative of her personal experiences; she is evidently a woman of great courage and energy, but we repeat that she does not exhibit those mental powers of observation and reasoning, which are essential characteristics of a good traveller.

We have seldom the opportunity of presenting a contrast so striking to the work we have just examined, as is afforded us by the volume which stands second on our list. A man of vigorous mind and of enlarged views, isolated for many years in a distant group of islands midway between Norway and Iceland, where as governor under the king of Denmark he has enjoyed unlimited sway over his simple people, undertakes a journey to the most northern of our British Isles, there to seek the means of ameliorating the condition of the people under his charge. Governor Plöyen, commandant and amtmann of Feroe, is evidently a shrewd and original observer, he is ever during Vol. XXXIII.—No. LXVI.

his visit to Shetland and to Scotland, on the look out for hints for improving the commerce and agriculture of Feroe: he is resolute and persevering in his enquiries, and we may add, happy in communicating the information he obtains. The style of his narrative shows us plainly that he is no practised book-maker; it is addressed not to the literary world, but to his beloved Feroese, whose faults and short-comings he rebukes with the tenderness and anxiety of a parent. In addition to having a special object for his voyage, M. Plöyen possesses a happy and genial spirit, which has evidently not been chilled by his long and solitary residence in the rude regions of the north. Our German lady tourist hurries from the luxurious capital of Austria to Iceland, apparently unprepared for the sudden change from high civilisation to the rudest phases of peasant life, while to M. Plöyen the transition from Feroe to Shetland excites infinite surprise, for in the capital of the Shetland group he meets with an amount of riches and of commercial activity of which he had previously no anticipation. A journey through Iceland, such as our lady authoress so feelingly describes, would have been a tour of ease and pleasure to our hardy Danish governor, and the annoyances of which Madame Pfeiffer complains, would have been totally unnoticed by him. Inured to the vicissitudes of the weather, an excellent seaman, unacquainted with, or at least unaccustomed for years to luxuries and comforts, M. Plöyen records his impressions of Shetland, as would a Highland peasant newly descended from the glens, express himself on witnessing the riches, the commerce, and the comforts of Glasgow or Aberdeen. Charmed with the hospitality he everywhere meets with, and fully conversant with our language, he never permits the attractions of society to interfere with the one great object of his travels; he is ever instituting comparisons between Shetland and Feroe. and pointing out the advantages possessed by the former islands, to stimulate the exertions of his Feroese people to improve their agriculture and their commerce. Both these groups of islands are, we suspect, but very imperfeetly known to the English reader.

The Feroe islands lie about one hundred and sixty miles north-west of Shetland, the latter about seventy miles north-east of the Orkneys. Both are peopled by the same race, the descendants of the ancient Scandina-

vian Vikings and Udallers; both are governed by peculiar laws emanating from the same sources; their climates differ but little, and their physical features bear numerous points of resemblance, save that the mountains of Feroe are higher and steeper than those of Shetland. Around both groups of islands the seas abound with fish, but, while in Shetland the sea fisheries, with an unrestricted commerce, are carried on with activity and success, in Feroe trade of all kinds is oppressed and checked by the severest and the most unwise monopolies on the part of As a pastoral country, Feroe is in reality far Denmark. superior to Shetland; sheep farming and the feeding of cattle might be carried on to a great extent, while the fisheries, the true sources of wealth to these countries, might with free trade, and with the aid of British capital, be developed to a degree which would vastly ameliorate the condition of the Feroese peasant. Nor is the narrative of M. Plöyen less interesting in another point of view. The few travellers who have visited these remote islands of Shetland, have universally commented upon the depressed state of agriculture, the rigour of the climate, and the general barrenness of the country, as contrasted with the rich districts of England or of southern Scotland; but we find from M. Plöyen's work, that there are yet other countries still further to the north, to which our bleak and barren Thule appears as an earthly paradise, where civilisation and riches, drawn from the deep seas around, have effected changes unknown to the secluded islands of Feroe. Against the oppressive monopoly of the Danish government, our worthy traveller raises his voice with a freedom and sincerity not a little surprising in one who holds so high an official position, but his arguments seem to us perfectly unanswerable, and perhaps already his representations have produced their effect, for within the last year or two some of the most oppressive restrictions have been removed, and further changes may be expected. Little as the Feroe islands are known to most of our readers, we may fairly ask how many in England are acquainted with the scenery, the manners, customs, and peculiarities of the Shetland people. Since the admirable but expensive quarto work of Dr. Hibbert on the geology and antiquities of these islands was published, full thirty years have elapsed, and during that period we do not remember any work of importance relating to that country having appeared in England. A clever sketch of a Shetland tour is to be found in one of Mr. Chambers' little volumes of tracts, and some further information is given by Mr. James Wilson, in his spirited "Yacht Voyage round Scotland." It has been our lot to have resided for several months in these distant islands some twenty years ago, and again within this last twelve months we revisited our old familiar haunts and friends, and were then enabled to appreciate the important changes that have been effected by the improvement of their fisheries, and by the formation of good roads throughout the whole country.

Of the original inhabitants of Shetland we know little or nothing, save what information is afforded us by the Icelandic sagas, our chief sources for all that relates to these northern countries. We are told that before the Norsemen invaded these islands, they were possessed by two distinct races, the Peti, or Picts, and the Papæ, or Priests, and that the latter were Christians, and came from the Western Islands, and probably from Ireland. The singular round towers, of which the only perfect one now remaining in Shetland is that of Mousa, would lead us to infer for the Papæ, a common origin with those who built the famous round towers of Ireland, and this supposition is still further strengthened by the discovery we made this last summer, of a headstone in an ancient churchyard on the island of Bressay, bearing on its edges a remarkably perfect and legible inscription in the ancient Irish Ogham character.

About the year 900 of our era, the northern Vikings, who had probably often visited these islands on previous predatory excursions, finally took possession of them, and from this time, till the year 1468, Shetland was under the rule of Norway and Denmark. In the year above referred to, these islands were pledged to king James the Third of Scotland, for eight thousand floring, by king Christiern the First of Denmark, and they have ever since remained a portion of our British possessions. The Danish crown has however never formally renounced its claim, and as late as the year 1700 the learned Torfæus published an important work to prove the validity of the title of Denmark to those islands. It may therefore be reasonably supposed that many traces of the Norwegian occupation still remain in Shetland, every locality, every dwelling, every household implement, and those employed in the fisheries, still keep

their old Norse appellations; the people are evidently Norsemen by name as well as by descent, and many of the old Scandinavian customs, laws, and traditions, yet remain in full force. Of the old Norse language, as it was spoken in the beginning of the last century, but little can be recovered. English is now the universal medium of communication. The Gaelic tongue never prevailed either in Orkney or in Shetland. In the year 1834 there was an old man named Hendrie, of Guttorm, in the island of Foula, who could still recite a Norse ballad or two, and some prayers in that tongue, and this summer we recovered a portion of the Norse burial service, that was formerly

sung over the grave.

A more dreary and uninteresting scene than that presented by the majority of the Shetland group can hardly be conceived. The hills are nowhere of great height; their greatest altitude does not exceed 1,500 feet, and they run in long parallel ridges from north to south, while their eastern and western sides, without being absolutely precipitous, are extremely steep. It is only when these hill ranges approach the sea, that the scenery assumes a character of wildness and grandeur. The precipices of Noss Island rise to the height of six hundred feet, while the Kaim in Foulah exhibits on its western face a sheer descent of thirteen hundred feet and more. In Shetland most of the higher hills are clothed with stunted heather and coarse grass, giving to the whole landscape a dull brown colour, very different from the bright green that covers the much higher mountains in Feroe.

The population of Shetland can hardly be said to have advanced at all, in comparison to the enormous progress in this respect observable in many parts of England and Scotland. During the middle ages, when the requirements of man were few, these islands probably supported as many inhabitants as they do at present, and from the numerous remains of churches, chapels, and even of monastic edifices, it is plain that religion was neither forgotten nor neglected. The Catholic faith is, however, now entirely unknown in Shetland, save through the bitter invectives of Presbyterian and Methodist ministers, and above all, through the violent onslaught of the "Free kirk" party, whose clergy can always attract an audience, if their theme be the much dreaded Pope of Rome. In

some of the remoter districts vestiges of Catholic belief yet remain. The fisherman when in danger at sea, vows an offering of money to St. Magnus, the great patron saint of former days, and on his safe return deposits a few coins in the crevices of the ruined chapels of the saint, that yet abound throughout the island. We have ourselves taken coins of the reign of George III. from an aumbrie in one of the ruined chapels in the island of Yell. The Presbyterian established church has been here, as elsewhere in Scotland, not a little weakened by the energetic action of the "Free Kirk," but still further has it suffered from the efforts of the Methodists and Independents, who have established themselves, and formed considerable congregations in islands and districts seldom visited by the clergy

of the establishment.

One of the principal objects of M. Plöyen's voyage was to see the present condition of the Shetland deep-sea fisheries, with a view to the improvement of those of Feroe. Satisfied that the former islands possessed a climate and a soil in many respects similar to that of his government, he was also anxious to introduce from thence into Feroe any agricultural or social improvements he might deem worthy of adoption. With these intentions he embarked in a small schooner from Thorshavn, taking with him three intelligent Feroese peasants, whom he desired to have thoroughly instructed in the mysteries of curing fish for the southern markets, as practised in Shetland. The sea fish in Feroe are merely dried in the wind with but little salt, and form the so-called "stock-fish" of the markets, and it is difficult to imagine any food more coarse and unpalatable.

The distance from Feroe to Shetland is not more than one hundred and sixty miles. The English and Dutch fishing sloops are constantly in sight of the high mountains of the former group, while the Feroese peasant, tied down by foolish restrictions, looks on with folded hands, utterly unable to compete with his more fortunate neighbours. To the governor of Feroe a sea voyage would present few novelties, and be productive of no such inconvenience as Madame Pfeiffer complains of. Sailing between Foulah and the mainland, the vessel reached Sumburgh head on Tuesday, June 5th, 1839, and already here M. Plöyen found himself surrounded by numerous sloops and boats, all actively prosecuting the deep-sea fishery. The

contrast between the busy scene that was around him, and the dead indifference of his own countrymen in regard to the rich treasures that lie around their shores, occasioned many a pang to M. Plöyen's philanthropic feelings; but he was somewhat consoled by finding that the pilot boat that came off to conduct their vessel into Bressay sound contained a crew not better clad than the Feroese, and equally importunate for food, brandy, and tobacco. Here he takes occasion to admonish his beloved Feroese of their evil habits of begging from foreign vessels, a habit extremely repulsive to strangers, but fostered, he believes, by the severe monopoly of the Danish government, which tends materially to raise the price of luxuries of all kinds.

"I have often," says he, "considered what can be the cause of this shameless system of begging in Feroe, and I have come to the conclusion, that the restrictive monopolies which have so long prevailed in our island, are chiefly to be blamed. It is in the nature of man to long for what he cannot obtain, and the Feroese exhibit a childish greediness for everything that can be procured through other channels, and will even pay more for it, if it is only from foreign lands. All commerce with strangers is strictly forbidden, and therefore they employ the only means in their power to procure that which is otherwise unattainable—they beg for it; but they think not of the injury they thereby do to their countrymen and to themselves, for every stranger that visits our country is impressed with the idea, that the Feroese are a nation of mendicants. What I have here written is the plain truth, and I have done so in the sincere hope that when the inhabitants of Feroe read this, they will abstain from bringing this shame upon their native land.

"It must, however, be confessed, that the Shetlanders are quite as importunate beggars as the Feroese, and perhaps they are even worse, but from a different cause. In fact, as I shall subsequently show, they are in general poorer than the latter, in spite of the poverty that reigns amongst us. Nor are they less inclined to petty thieving, as I have heard, at least, from trustworthy indi-

viduals."-P. 12.

That the poor people of Shetland will occasionally pilfer a few dried fish, or a few peats, from their neighbours, is perfectly true; but from long experience we can also fully confirm the assertion of M. Plöyen in another part of his book, that a traveller may pass through the islands without the smallest risk of losing the most insignificant part of his luggage. In all houses that we have resided in, our trunks were left open and unguarded without fear; and though they occasionally begged for a little tobacco, or

cast a wistful eye on a ship's biscuit, we found them honest and intelligent to a degree not to be met with in more southern regions.

Our traveller continued his course along the east side of the mainland of Shetland; and though, to a southern eye the district from Sumburgh to Lerwick presents the very picture of desolation, M. Plöyen was lost in astonishment at the well-built mansions, the carefully enclosed parks, and the large cornfields which he observed. We confess that such scenes did not appear to our eyes. The wellbuilt mansions are like substantial English farmhouses at the best; the parks are surrounded by ricketty, ill-built walls, enclosing generally an indifferent growth of wiry grass struggling with an abundant growth of moss on the swampy undrained soil; while the cornfields are small irregular patches, divided from the pastures by shallow surface drains, or rather by grooves in the soil. The advantages of Shetland must not, therefore, be compared with the agricultural districts of the south. It is only the contrast of partial cultivation with the total neglect of husbandry in Feroe that occasioned M. Plöyen's eulogies. On the sixth of June he landed at Lerwick, the capital town, and, indeed, the only town in these islands. Lerwick, as viewed from the sea, in the really magnificent harbour of Bressay Sound, has a handsome appearance. Many of the houses are of considerable size, and the place looks larger than it really is, from the houses being built one above another on the steep slope of the We are not surprised, then, that to one who had been for ten years accustomed to the miserable huts of Thorshavn, Lerwick appeared like a "city of palaces."

The landing places are miserable flights of ricketty stone steps; but even these call forth our author's commendations, for at Thorshavn, the beach is in a state of nature, and the passenger who seeks to reach the town, must scramble from his boat over heaps of wet stones and sea tangle at the peril of his life and limbs. The only street of Lerwick is impassable for carriages; the houses have been constructed without regard to order or regularity.

"Lerwick is built along the shore of Bressay Sound, and does not date its origin further back than the last 150 years. It owes its existence to the excellent harbour above-named, and particularly to its being frequented by the Dutch vessels engaged in the herring fishery, and which, during the flourishing period of their trade,

assembled here in vast numbers. The town, in some respects resembles Thorshavn, for each person has built his house according to his own convenience, and the main street is consequently as irregular and crooked as it well can be, for many of the houses project far beyond the others; and rarely do more than two or three stand in a line together. This is the more to be regretted, as many of the houses are really well built, and two or three stories high, and some, indeed, are positively elegant edifices. From the fort, or from a high point at a little distance inland, Lerwick has a most pleasing appearance; we look on the well-constructed houses, the busy harbour crowded with shipping, and the many pretty gardens and enclosures in the immediate neighbourhood; the principal street is paved with broad flags, which are exceedingly pleasant to walk upon, and may last for a long time, as no wheel carriage can reach them, for the street is in many places too narrow for a cart, and the access to the town from the land is by narrow lanes and flights of steps. The population is about 3000, a proportion nearly the same as that of the 700 inhabitants of Thorshavn to the whole of Feroe. But although Lerwick is comparatively so populous,* there is yet work for every man who is inclined to labour; and often did I think with sorrow of our helpless and starving people of Thorshavn, when I observed what life and active occupation were produced in Lerwick by the herring and cod fisheries, -how many hands were engaged in the cooperages, and what a respectable class of operatives, of small tradesmen and ship masters, had sprung up here. All these traders employ workmen, and often, too, women and children; but, in Feroe, each man works for himself alone, and I have often grieved over the lot of the Thorshavn peasant, who must stand idly with folded arms, if the weather be such that he cannot put out to sea.

"That in Lerwick, as well as here in Feroe, there are many idle persons who will not work, and are consequently steeped in poverty, I will not deny, nor am I inclined to describe the capital of Shetland as an earthly paradise; but it is a sad truth, that there is an immense difference between the life and activity of Lerwick, and

the dreary dulness of Thorshavn."-P. 20.

The pretty gardens of which M. Plöyen speaks with such admiration, are certainly invisible to the stranger visiting Lerwick from the south. There is hardly a tree in the whole group of islands, save in a few sheltered situations, and to cause them to rise to any reasonable height it is necessary to build the garden walls to the same elevation, as otherwise they are immediately cut off at the top

^{*} The population of Shetland is about 30,000, that of Feroe about 5,500.

by the wind. In one or two sheltered spots, as at Busta in Northmavine, trees, or rather bushes, with most disproportionately thick stems, are to be found; and at Sound near Lerwick, we observed something really like an avenue of elders, birch-trees, &c. Horticulture is, however, terribly neglected by the Shetland gentry; perhaps, indeed, the labour of cultivating a garden is there so uncertain and unprofitable.

Our traveller was charmed with the hospitality he met with in Lerwick, and speaks of it in glowing, but not unmerited terms. This old Scottish virtue still reigns in full power in our northern islands, though it will gradually be limited by the influx of strangers from the south. Still, excepting to the naturalist or the antiquary, Shetland presents so few attractions that the number of summer visitors will never be great. A few years ago every laird's house was open to the passing stranger; and we ourselves had more than once unceremoniously taken possession of a mansion while the owner was absent. But the luxury and wealth of the Shetland lairds and merchants deeply impressed the worthy governor of Feroe, who we suspect, in his own capital, enjoyed little more than the bare necessaries of life.

"For a Dane who, for the first time, treads on English ground, even though it be merely Shetland, the most northern and the most inclement portion of Great Britain, there are yet many circumstances calculated to excite astonishment and surprise. I certainly expected to find Shetland far superior to Feroe, but I never dreamed that its gentry were in possession of all those luxuries and comforts which we read of as abounding in English households. On my arrival there, I found handsome houses, elegant rooms, covered with rich carpets, as were even the stairs of the inn where I first took up my quarters. Everything betokened that I had come into a land of riches; and it was a consoling thought that all this wealth of Shetland was obtained from the sea, a source which, God be thanked, is likewise available to us in Feroe."—P. 22.

Luxurious as our English habits may have appeared to M. Plöyen, there are yet some customs which he justly reprobates, and which must, indeed, be intolerable to a foreigner, for they are impatiently endured by many of ourselves. Among these, the habit of sitting long at table after the ladies have retired is particularly blamed; and M. Plöyen very properly hints, that the conversation is far from being improved in its tone by this custom. In

Scotland many hours are thus spent, and often it does really happen, as our traveller states, that when the gentlemen do rise from table, they are scarcely in a suitable condition for the company of the ladies. M. Plöyen does not seem to be aware of the tradition, that the hard-drinking habits of the Scottish gentry are said to have been introduced by the Danes who came over in the suite of the

queen of James III. from Denmark.

As our traveller's principal object was to examine the state of the deep-sea fisheries, and to have his Feroese followers instructed in the art of curing fish for the southern market, he proceeded to the island of Burra in the Bay of Scalloway, where there was a large fish-curing establishment belonging to one of the wealthiest of the Shetland merchants. Scalloway is the ancient chief town of Shetland, if that may be called a town which is now merely a cluster of small houses, which would hardly be dignified by the appellation of a hamlet in England. The only relic of its former prosperity, or rather of the feudal oppression under which it groaned, are the frowning walls of its castle, built by the "evil earl" Patrick Stuart, in 1600, with the forced labour of the wretched inhabitants. It is really a fine specimen of the fortified manor-house so common at that period in Scotland, and presents many curious architectural details.

A few years ago, the only piece of road in Shetland, was a sort of rough track which led from Lerwick towards Deals Voe, an inlet about five miles (north-west) from the town. On our visit this summer, we were surprised to find excellent roads traversing the length and breadth of the country. During the famine years of 1847, 1848, the attention of the Highland Destitution Committee was directed to the starving condition of the Shetland peasantry; for here, as in the Highlands and in Ireland, much of their daily food was derived from the potatoe. Supplies of meal were accordingly forwarded from Scotland, as a means of engaging the people in useful labour, and were chiefly expended in forwarding the making of roads, which will prove a lasting benefit to the country. Not less than £16,000 were thus laid out, and the result is now, that the means of communication are most ample, and that already the advantages of rapid and safe transit are beginning to be appreciated. The roads are indeed narrow, but are admirably engineered through the long valleys, and over the intervening ridges that run from north to south throughout the mainland; while, from the abundance and excellent quality of material for their construction, they are as smooth as a gravel-walk. It is true that wheel carriages are as yet a rarity in Shetland, and many of the natives prefer the soft turf of the hills to the most level road, as the latter is not agreeable to their feet when enveloped in the usual "rivlins," or sandals of salted cow-hide, which forms their "chaussure."

Nothing can exceed the utter barrenness of the country as soon as the traveller ascends the first ridge beyond the town of Lerwick. To supply fuel for its inhabitants, the peat moss has been carried off in the most wasteful manner, and beneath it appears now the bare white surface of the sandstone formation of which the hills are composed. It must be confessed, however, that the Shetlanders cut their peats (Anglicè turf for fuel) in a more scientific way than is done in Scotland. The operation is performed with a peculiar instrument, very different in shape from our ordinary turf spade, and with this the Shetland peasant cuts or casts his peats, with a rapidity and precision that it is absolutely surprising to witness. After being dried on the hill, the peats are brought down to their dwellings in straw baskets, called "cassies," of beautiful construction, and so admirably woven, that they can be filled with stones, or with the weightiest articles, without giving way.

We would gladly have translated from the work before us the whole of M. Plöyen's remarks on the present condition of the Shetland fisheries, a subject which as yet has not received the attention it deserves. During the months of June, July, and part of August, the deep-sea fishing is carried on with great vigour at various stations along the coast. Each boat contains six men, who take out with them 120 lines, each forty-two fathoms long, and furnished with ten hooks, so that when all these are tied together and laid out, the line extends nearly 5000 fathoms along the bottom of the sea, and not less than 1200 hooks are attached to it. These long lines are set once and taken up again, a procedure which may last several hours; and then, if the weather continue fine, the same process is repeated, and the boat when filled is then directed towards the land, from which they are often distant thirty or forty The consequences of a sudden storm, no uncommon occurrence in these wild regions, are often most disas-

trous.

In July 1832, we witnessed a scene of this kind, where eighteen boats and nearly one hundred men were lost from the east coast of Shetland. Sloop fishing is carried on in much the same manner, only that the vessels go further out to sea; and, indeed, the best fishing banks are about one hundred miles away to the north and west, and often within sight of the high mountains of Feroe. Mr. Plöyen witnessed an example of the productiveness of this system of fishery while he was at Scalloway:—

"While I was in Shetland, a sloop came in for the second time into Scalloway, and sold its cargo of fish to Messrs. Hay and Ogilvy. On its first voyage it brought in 9000 cod, on the second 5000, all of which had been obtained within the space of a month in the vicinity of Suderoe in the south-west of Feroe. Its crew consisted of eight men, who had come from London with the sloop to fish on our banks for the benefit of the Shetland merchants, with advantage both to the crew and to the employers; while we in Feroe sit with our hands idle, and can only lament that we do not do the like. I acknowledge that every drop of patriotic blood boiled within me when I learned these facts, and my Feroese were still more excited, for they were just then at Scalloway, and saw the sloop deliver her cargo of 14,000 cod, all obtained on their own fishing banks. All felt how shamefully we neglected the sources of riches and of comforts that Providence has provided for us; but we felt, too, that no improvement can be effected so long as the monopoly of trade exists."-P. 41.

It is evident that the seas around Shetland are productive of immense wealth to certain parties; but, nevertheless, the Shetland peasant is, perhaps, (always excepting the Irish), the poorest in the world. In former times, the peasantry owned the land, which was divided into small holdings, as in Feroe at the present day; but, about two hundred years ago, their rights were invaded, first by the earls of Orkney and Shetland, and subsequently by the farmers of the crown revenues, so that now, with but few exceptions, the whole of Shetland is owned by a few land-The rents in these islands are in general exceedingly high; but it must not be forgotten that the chief income of the peasantry is derived from the sea. A house, with land sufficient to support two or three ponies and five sheep, is let for £5 a-year, and the small island of Noss is farmed for £70.

Like the Irish peasant, every Shetlander deems it absolutely necessary that he should farm a small portion of land, whereon to raise potatoes and his uncertain crop of oats or barley; and of this land he is only a yearly tenant, so that even if he possessed the means, he would be unwilling to lay out money in improving his farm. The condition of agriculture, therefore, in these islands, is most deplorable; but in some parts, where the ground has been divided by the owners into large fields, properly separated by walls, and drained as far as the stony soil will permit, the crops really had this summer (1852) a luxuriant appearance. The harvest has this year been excellent, but in Shetland there is hardly sufficient corn grown to supply the wants of the population. The dependent condition of the Shetland peasant-fisherman is well described by Mr. Plöyen:-

"Although there is more arable land in Shetland than in Feroe, although more corn is grown, and the potatoes are more plentiful, and much better in quality; yet the harvest, from the nature of the climate, is particularly uncertain. Even if it be favourable, the peasant cannot raise more corn and potatoes than what will suffice for himself and his family; he has no surplus to dispose of. The rent, however, must be paid in money (it is often paid in butter), and to obtain this every farmer becomes, at certain seasons, a fisherman; it is from the inexhaustible sea that he draws his rent, and the clothing necessary for his family, and-if the fishing be successful, is enabled to obtain luxuries and comforts which he could not otherwise procure. But the Shetland system of deep sea fishing with long lines is so expensive, that the poor peasant could not possibly afford to purchase a boat and the necessary apparatus; and as it is of importance to the landlord that his tenant should prosecute the deep-sea fishing, an arrangement is necessarily entered into, that the landlord should provide boats and lines in advance, while, on their parts, the tenants are bound to dispose of their fish at a certain fixed price to their landlord. In this way the peasant is, indeed, enabled to obtain what is necessary for prosecuting the deep-sea fishing, and for paying his rent; but, on the other hand, he becomes a slave to his landlord both by sea and by land, while the latter not only secures his rent, but likewise makes a profit by curing and selling the fish. Still worse, however, is the lot of the peasant, if the fishery of the year turns out unprofitably, and he cannot pay his rent; for, though to the honour of the land holders. it must be said that they are rarely harsh towards tenants who are backward in their rent, yet they have them completely in their power, and can force them to labour for them even at times when they are not bound to fish.

"The consequence of this painful state of dependence is, that the people in Shetland are miserably poor, while the landowners live in luxury and abundance; for all the profits of the fisheries, on which the life and labour of the peasant is expended, flows into the rich man's coffers. When I became acquainted with the mode of life of the Shetland fishermen, and had inspected their dwellings, I was convinced that the lot of the Feroese peasants is infinitely superior; and what might it not become, if, by the removal of the monopolies, they could trade on their own account."—P. 49.

While his Feroese followers were studying the art of fish-curing on Burra island, M. Plöyen availed himself of the interval to make a journey to Scotland, visiting Kirkwall. Aberdeen, and Edinburgh. We have been much amused by his attempt, in simple language, to describe to the Feroese the system of railway travelling; the admiration, not unmixed with dread, with which he looked upon the snorting steam-engine, and the fearful rapidity with which he was whirled along. In Scotland he is struck with the whisky-drinking propensities of the people; in Edinburgh he is terribly wearied by the dead monotony and gloom of a Scottish sabbath. Everywhere, however, we find him diligently enquiring into the arts and manufactures of the country, never omitting an opportunity of acquiring knowledge, and never too ashamed to confess his ignorance.

After a visit to Glasgow, where he saw and wondered over the immense cotton manufactories, and the life and activity of this great sea-port, he returned to Perthshire to inspect a machine for compressing peat at Lord Willoughby d'Eresby's. The machine disappointed him, as it has also disappointed its inventor; though, if it could be brought into use, it would be of great value in Feroe and Shetland. He had, however, an opportunity of seeing Drummond Castle; and marvels, as well he may, over the enormous riches of our aristocracy. From thence he returned to Shetland to take shipping to Feroe, along with his followers, who, it is sincerely to be hoped, profited by their sojourn at the fishing station. In a concluding chapter he has thrown together some general remarks upon the Shetland people, which are so appropriate, and so entirely coincide with our personal observations, that though we cannot give them here at full length, we shall endeavour to convey their general import.

There is no doubt that the Shetland peasantry, like the

Irish, are an oppressed and impoverished race, and their landlords accuse them of indolence, and of indifference to their fate. But wherever hard labour meets with but a scanty and uncertain recompense, work is performed less heartily and steadily than under other circumstances, and the people exhibit a greater tendency to solace themselves with ardent spirits. In Shetland, intemperance is not, we think, a general vice, but the women consume enormous quantities of tea; indeed, this is one of the great articles of luxury and of expense in the whole country. They rarely taste meat, but during the greater part of the year they are supplied with abundance of excellent fresh fish, as the young of the coal fish, and other fish, swarm in all the inlets. The native oatmeal is exceedingly coarse, and is ground in water mills of the most primitive construction. On every little mountain streamlet these picturesque little huts for grinding corn are to be seen with their horizontal wheels, and otherwise most primitive machinery. houses of the peasantry are in general miserable dwellings; in the most truly national ones you enter through the cowhouse, and after groping your way through the animals that are tied up there, you find yourself in an apartment where the fire is in the centre of the floor, while the smoke escapes through a hole in the roof, blackening the rafters from whence are suspended clothes, fishing-lines, and the curious skin dresses that are worn in the deep-sea fishing. These dresses, however, are now becoming rare; we hardly saw a single leathern suit during our visit this year, for improvements have found their way to Shetland, and indiarubber garments now protect the fishermen on their stormy seas. As a race of men, the Shetlanders are fair-haired, blue-eyed, and with remarkably open and pleasing countenances; and some of the female sex may be termed absolutely handsome. Their intellectual qualities are highly developed; we cannot say that we ever met with a stupid Shetlander. Altogether, these neglected islands offer much that is peculiar and interesting to the mere traveller; while, to the naturalist, the rocks and seas yield an abundant harvest. We have travelled through the length and breadth of the country, and have rarely met with any attempts at imposition; and never, either by landholder or peasant, have we been received with anything but the most genuine hospitality.

- ART. VI—(1.) ΩΡΙΓΕΝΟΥΣ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΥΜΕΝΑ: η Κάτα Πασων Αἰρέσεων Ε'λέγχος. Originis Philosophumena; sive Omnium Hæresium Refutatio. E. Codice Parisino nunc primum edidit ΕΜΜΑΝΝΕΙ ΜΙΙΙΕΒ. Oxonii: e Typographeo Academico, 1851.
- (2,)—Hippolytus and his Age; or the Doctrine and Practice of the Church of Rome under Commodus and Alexander Severus; and Ancient and Modern Christianity and Divinity Compared. By Christian Charles Josias Bunsen, D.C.L. 4 vols. 8vo. London: Longmans, 1852.

TE owe our readers an apology for having delayed so long to satisfy the curiosity which this interesting fragment has excited. Immediately upon its publication, more than twelve months ago, we had prepared an account of its general contents, and of its claim to the title under which it had been given to the world, as a long lost work of Origen. But before the arrival of publication-day, it was announced by the leading critical journals that the Chevalier Bunsen was engaged in a special enquiry into the subject; that he had made some important discoveries regarding it; and that his forthcoming work might be expected to throw an entirely new light, not alone on the critical and historical questions involved in the discussion, but on the entire framework of the doctrine, discipline, and government of the early Church. resolved, therefore, to await the appearance of a work from which so much was promised, more especially as it was announced as already in the press; and it is no mean tribute to the reputation of the critic, that, by their own avowal, the same expectation has had a similar effect in suspending the enquiry of many of the critical journals not only in this country, but, to a great extent, in Germany also.

After many delays—so many as to have caused us more than once to regret that we had been seduced from our first resolve by what began to seem an illusive expectation—M. Bunsen's work has at last appeared. From the beginning, it had been well known that, like almost the whole body of European scholars, he had at once discarded the false title under which it was issued from the Univer-

sity Press of Oxford, and pronounced it to be from the pen of St. Hippolytus, the martyr and bishop of Porto under the emperor Severus. Accordingly, his work appears under the comprehensive title, "Hippolytus and his Age;" and professes to reconstruct, by the aid of this recovered fragment, the whole theory of the ecclesiastical system of

the early centuries.

We must begin by saying that, in so far as M. Bunsen's work undertakes to deal with the general doctrinal history of early Christianity, we regard it as a signal failure. It is a mass of assumptions and arbitrary theories from the beginning to the end; and contains so little even of the show of argument to sustain them, as to suggest the impression that the writer's mind, from long familiarity with these preconceived theories, has ceased to be conscious of the assumption which is evident to all else beside. Indeed, we have seldom met an example of such inequality in one performance, as is presented in the contrast between the two portions of M. Bunsen's work:—the purely critical part, in which he deals with the questions of the genuineness of the work, its textual purity, integrity, its date, the place where it must have been composed, the personal and historical allusion, which it contains, and the other purely literary discussions which it involves; and the doctrinal or theological portion, in which he proposes to take to pieces the whole of the received system of the doctrine and discipline of these early times, and to reconstruct it in the new, according to the lights which he finds in this work of Hippolytus, and other real or imaginary witnesses to what he considers the hidden truth of the time. We could scarcely think it possible to find united in the same mind the recklessness and (with much seeming learning) the inconclusiveness which are exhibited in the theory, and the acuteness, sagacity, caution, moderation, and coolness by which the practical criticism is distinguished.

M. Bunsen regards the question of authorship, as practically settled. But we cannot help thinking that many of his conclusions are quite too summary, and that the evidence in favour of the claim of St. Hippolytus is by no means so decisive as he would lead us to suppose. We

shall briefly review the facts of the case.

The history of the MS. from which the work is published, is not uninteresting. Some of our readers may recollect a

literary mission which, during M. Villemain's tenure of office as Minister of Public Instruction, was sent by the French government to the convents of Mount Athos, in search of the gleanings of Greek literature which, in those distant repositories, were supposed to have escaped the persevering researches of the learned of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Among the fruits of this mission was a MS. on cotton-paper, seemingly of the fourteenth century. It was simply labelled Πέρι πασῶν Αἰρεσεων, without any indication of its author, or even of its age. The style of the writing was careless and slovenly; the work was evidently full of blunders; and its whole exterior, it would seem, was in every respect extremely unpromising. Accordingly, it was not till after it had lain for several years. in the Bibliothéque du Roi that it attracted any notice; and it is further curious, that the attention of the present editor, M. Emmanuel Miller, one of the officials of the library, was first drawn to the book, not by any idea of its own value, but by some fragments of unknown Greek poetry which he found it to contain. A closer examination, however, soon satisfied him of its importance, and he resolved on publishing it in its integrity. From some unexplained cause, he was induced to offer it to the directors of the University Press of Oxford, by whom it was at once accepted.

The MS. was plainly imperfect; but a slight examination enabled M. Miller to decide that it formed part of a work supposed to be lost, a smaller portion of which has long been known under the name φιλοσοφυμένα. This fragment was attributed by its first editor, Gronovius, to Origen; and, although the enquiries of later critics had led to a contrary conclusion, and although the second editor of the fragment, Wolf, almost immediately after it was discovered, made it plain that the arguments by which Gronovius had been led to ascribe it to Origen were utterly inconclusive, it was inserted in the Benedictine edition of the works of this Father. This, however was commonly admitted to be an error. The single fact that the author of the Philosophumena describes himself as a "successor of the apostles" [ών ἡμεις δίαδοχοι τυγχάνοντες]. and a member of "the high-priesthood" [ἀρχιερατειας], would be enough to exclude the claim of Origen, who was but a simple priest; and in the critical essays of Huet [Origenianal appended to the Benedictine edition of the works of

Origen, he attributes it to Epiphanius,* on the ground that the writer was plainly a bishop. Others ascribed it to Didymus, one of the most celebrated teachers of the Alexandrian school, and especially remarkable as having, notwithstanding his extraordinary learning, been blind from a very early age. By others it was ascribed to the heretic Actius, although it is hard to imagine upon what foundation; and it is equally strange that, notwithstanding the objection to the admission of Origen's authorship founded on his not having been a bishop, it should also have been conjectured that the author may have been the Roman priest, Caius,† of whose authority Eusebius has made so much use in those portions of his history which regard the

affairs of Italy and Rome.

In defiance of this weight of authority, M. Miller returns in his edition to the original opinion of Gronovius, and publishes the work under the name of Origen. The MS. itself contains nothing in support of this view, with the exception of a single marginal note at the end of the work, in which the name of Origen is introduced; and the Confession of Faith with which it closes is described as Operginal Society, (p. 331.) This appears to be M. Miller's only positive argument; but he endeavours to get rid of the objection from the supposed fact of its having been written by a bishep, by suggesting that Origen, in the objected passage, is not speaking of himself at all; and he maintains that there is a distinct allusion in Eusebius (vi. 19) to a work of Origen's exactly answering to the character of that now before us.

But notwithstanding the confidence with which M. Miller put forward the opinion, he has been deserted by all the critics who have since considered the question. It is entirely untrue that either Eusebius, or any other ancient writer has attributed any such work to Origen. Mr. Miller's explanation of the "successorship of the Apostles' is utterly untenable. The author of this work, too, from several indications, must have been a bishop, and we have already seen that Origen was but a priest. Above all, the familiarity which the writer exhibits with the affairs of the Roman Church; his complete identification of

* Origenis Opp. iv. p. 327.

⁺ Even so lately as in the review of the work published in the Ecclesiastic," June and July, 1851.

himself with all its concerns; the part which he professes to have taken in the controversies which divided it; and the entire character of the language in which he deals with them, clearly bespeak a member of that church, or at least a long resident within its precincts; and although it is certain that Origen visited Rome, and remained there for some time, yet there is a degree of personal interest, and, we should rather say, personal feeling, in what the author of this work has written on Roman affairs, for which it would be impossible to account in any other than one connected with that Church by closer ties than those of mere residence, even though it were more protracted than that of Origen can be supposed to have been.

But, independently of these negative arguments, which are drawn from the exclusion of Origen's claim, a considerable amount of positive evidence is brought forward in favour of the authorship of Hippolytus. That Hippolytus wrote a work answering in description to that now discovered, we have abundant authority. A book of his "Against all Heresies," is mentioned by Eusebius* in the catalogue of his works. It is also enumerated by St. Jerome; and M. Bunsen justly observes that Jerome's testimony may here be considered independent, as his catalogue on other subjects differs from that of Eusebius. Hippolytus's name, too, is also mentioned by St. Epiphanius,† along with those of Clement of Alexandria and Irenœus, as having written against the error of the Valentinians, a heresy which occupies a prominent place in the present treatise. The work is also quoted by name by St. Peter of Alexandria, who suffered martyrdom in the year 311.

These testimonies, it is true, go no further than the fact, that a work on the same subject with the present treatise, namely, "A Refutation of all Heresies," was written by Hippolytus. But M. Bansen contends for a still closer identification. Photius, in his Bibliotheca, actually describes the work of Hippolytus, to which the other writers have but alluded. He describes it as "a little book," [βιβλιδάριον] a "treatise on thirty-two heresies, beginning with the Dositheans, and ending with the Noetians;" and subjoins, that it professes to be a synopsis of the similar

^{*} vi. c. 22, p. 221. Cruse's Translation. † Hæres. xxxi. c. 33, T. i. p. 205.

work of Hippolytus's master, Irenæus. He adds that the author has fallen into some inaccuracies; [τινα της ἀκριβέιας λειπόμενα;] "as, for instance, in stating that the Epistle to

the Hebrews is not by St. Paul."*

Now, although some parts of this description are quite inapplicable to the work in its present form, yet M. Bunsen thinks its main features sufficiently exact to furnish a presumption of identity. He contends that the existing treatise may be fairly enough described as a βιβλιδαριον; and we are not disposed to gainsay this. especially when it is considered in contrast with the work of Irenæus, and still more that of Epiphanius, on the same subject, which are described by Photius in the same page. It corresponds, too, he maintains, with the βιβλιδαριον of Photius in the number of the Heresies which are described and refuted in it. The list of these heresies, moreover, closes, according to him, with the Noetians, or at least a branch of that sect; and although it is hardly fair to argue from Photius's criticism of the style of the work, yet he urges in this criticism a confirmation of the other analogies, that would fairly apply to the style of the fragment which we now possess. He argues, besides, that the phraseology of the newly-found treatise resembles, in several particulars, that of the known and acknowledged works of Hippolytus, and particularly of a homily against Noetius, which from its kindred subject, may be fairly assumed as a standard of comparison. Moreover, of the few allusions to the contents of the treatise "Against all Heresies," which we find among the writers of antiquity, several are found to be verified by the contents of the present work. For example, Hippolytus is mentioned by Stephen Gobar as one of the authors who consider Nicholas, the Deacon of the Acts, to have been the founder of the sect of the Nicolaites, which, on reference to the account of the heresy of Theodotus p. 258, now before us, is found to be stated in express terms. He adds that the same may be said for the peculiar theological opinions, (or to speak more correctly, the peculiar forms of expression,) in reference to the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity, which are ascribed to Hippolytus, These are found in the main to fall in with the theology of the recovered fragment.

^{*} Photius Bibliotheca, cod. cxx. p. 302.

Such is the substance of M. Bunsen's argument in support of the authorship of Hippolytus. But, on the other hand, we must confess that the difficulties against his conclusion are much more serious than he has repre-We shall not insist on the difficulty arising sented. from the seeming inapplicability of the term βιβλιδαριον, little book, to a volume which, though it is still incomplete, contains nearly three hundred and fifty octavo pages. M. Bunsen suggests that Photius most probably contemplated only the six last books when he used this appellation, excluding altogether the portion of the work which regards the philosophical systems to which he traces all the heresies as to their first origin. must say we look on this as an exceedingly improbable Both parts follow a continuous division suggestion. The Philosophumena, most unquestionably, is an integral portion of the work, nor is there any evidence that either was ever separated from the other. or was regarded as an independent work. But we have already said that we should not be much influenced by The testimony of Photins, however, this consideration. presents other difficulties.

(1.) Photius describes the work of Hippolytus, which was in his hands, as commencing with the heresy of the Dositheans. Now our treatise not only does not commence with the heresy of the Dositheans, but does not once name them, or even their author, from the beginning to the end of the enumeration. What is worse, the doctrines of the sect with which it actually does commence, that of the Naassenes, or Ophites,* bear no analogy to the principles of Dositheus, who was not a Christian sectary at all, but a Samaritan; who lived before the Christian era; and whose error is described by Tertullian to have been the rejection of the prophecies of the Old Law.

(2.) We cannot help thinking M. Bunsen equally unfortunate as regards the remaining part of the argument from Photius's authority. The treatise described by Photius ended with "Noetus and the Noetians." Now, the book before us does not terminate with Noetus and the Noetus

* p. 94.

[†] De Præscript. 46, vol. xi. p. 46. [Simler's Ed.] Qui primus ausus est prophetas quasi non in spiritu Sancto locutos, repudiare.

tians, but contains besides, a long article on Callistus, another on the Elchasaites, and lastly, a lengthened account in twelve pages (297—309) of the three Jewish sects, the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the Essenians.

It may be said that Photius regarded the Callistians and Elchasaites as part and parcel of the Noetian school, and comprises them all under the single denomination of Noetus and the Noetians. And this, in truth, is M. Bunsen's anticipated reply to the difficulty against this argument. But M. Bunsen forgets that he himself considers (i. p. 119.) the Elchasaites as a distinct sect; and, what is more important, that, in order to make the enumeration in the existing treatise tally with the number thirty-two, which Photius had read in his copy, it was necessary for him to consider them as a distinct sect. He makes the Noetians the thirtyfirst, and the Elchasaites the thirty-second. He has but a choice, therefore, between evils. His argument from Photius's description fails in one or other of the two ways. Either the present treatise does not end with Noetius and the Noetians, or it does not contain thirty-two heresies. In either case it does not tally with Photius's description.

(3) The treatise which Photius describes, contained "just thirty-two heresies;" and this is one of M. Bunsen's main arguments for the identity. (I. p. 120.) Now this enumeration, on which M. Bunsen rests with so much confidence, appears to us not only to be an exceedingly uncertain foundation for any argument of identity, but even to furnish a strong presumption on the opposite side. There is occasionally a good deal of difficulty in determining which, among the heresies contained in the treatise, are to be regarded as distinct and substantive heads of argument. But, taking the plainest and most obvious distribution, and even that which M. Bunsen himself adopts in all substantial particulars, it will appear that the number in the present treatise cannot possibly be made to correspond with that described by Photius. We shall detail them in the order of the several books. It is only in the fifth book that the author enters on this part of his subject:-

BOOK V.

- (1) The Naassenes, or Ophites.
- (2) The Perato.
- (3) The Sethites.
- (4) The Justinians.

BOOK VI.

- (5) Simon Magus.
- (6) Valentinus:
- (7) Secundus.
- (8) Heracleon.
- (9) Ptolemæus.
- (10) Marcus.
- (11) Colarbasus.

The last-named heretic is, as we shall hereafter see, enumerated in the contents of the book, and is referred to at its close as having been refuted; and hence, although the text at present does not contain the article upon his heresy, there can be no doubt that it formed part of the original work. M. Bunsen regards its absence as one of the evidences of the book's being a mere abridgment of the original. We may add that the name of Heracleon is also introduced in the summary of contents in the heading of the same chapter which treats of Secundus and Ptolemæus, in a different order from that in which it appears in Yet the three names, Secundus, Ptolemæus, the text. and Heracleon, all disciples of the Valentinian school themselves, represent three distinct phases of the opinions of this prolific family.

On the other hand, M. Bunsen introduces into this chapter an additional sect—that of Epiphanes. In the article on Secundus, the following passage occurs (p. 198): "Αλλος δέ τις επιφανής διδάσκαλος αυτων ουτως λέγει,-" Another eminent disciple of these speaks thus." M. Bunsen severely criticises the editor's want of penetration in not discovering that επιφανης in this passage is not the common adjective "eminent,"-" illustrious," but "the well-known proper name of the Gnostic, Epiphanes." Now we must beg to dissent from this emendation, and profess our full approval of M. Miller's reading. The "well-known Gnostic," Epiphanes, we conceive, cannot possibly be alluded to, either here or in the parallel passage of Irenæus, in which M. Bunsen suggests a similar correction. That "well-known Gnostic" was the son of the notorious heresiarch Carpocrates; and although he died at the early age of seventeen, the book which he has left is the main original source of our information as to the monstrous opinions of his father and his school. Now the school of Carpocrates, it is well known, differed widely and essen-

tially from that of Valentinus; and it is impossible to sup-

pose that so leading a member of the former as Epiphanes,—himself, indeed, the great authority for its opinions,—could be designated under the character of διδασκαλος άυτων, a scholar of the rival school of Valentinus.

But to proceed with our enumeration :-

BOOK VII.

- (12) Basilides.
- (13) Saturnilus,—[So it is read both in the heading of the chapter and in the body of the treatise, instead of the common form, Saturninus.]
 - (14) Menander.
 - (15) Marcion.
 - (16) Prepon the Assyrian.
 - (17) Carpocrates.
 - (18) Cerinthus.
 - (19) Ebion.
 - (20) Theodotus the Byzantine.
- (21) Theodotus the Banker.—[" τραπεζίτης," in connection with whom the name of Nicolas the Deacon is introduced.]
 - (22) Cerdo.
 - (23) Lucianus.
 - (24) Apelles.

One of these names, that of Prepon the Assyrian, is not mentioned as a distinct head in the "contents" of the book. But it occupies a prominent place in the body of the treatise, and M. Bunsen very properly regards it as a distinct and independent article.

BOOK VIII.

- (25) The Docetæ.
- (26) Monoimus the Arabian.
- (27) Tatian.
- (28) Hermogenes.
- (29) The Quarto-decimans.
- (30) The Montanists.
- (31) The Encratites.

BOOK IX.

- (32) Noetus.
- (33) Callistus and the Callistians.
- (34) The Elchasaites.
- (35) Pharisees.
- (36) Sadducees.
- (37) Essenians.

So that instead of the treatise's containing, as M. Bunsen contends (i. p. 120), "just thirty-two heresies," it

turns out to contain not less than thirty-seven; and, if his own conjecture as to Epiphanes be adopted, and this heretic be reckoned as a distinct article, we shall find the number to be thirty-eight instead of thirty-two. It is true that M. Bunsen reckons the Noetians and Callistians as a single heresy (p. 114); and, very conveniently for his own view, considers the notices of the Jewish sects in the light of a mere appendix (p. 113.) But, even though we grant this assumption, yet, as he himself regards the Elchasaites, at least, in the light of a distinct sect, we find, upon his own showing, that the number is at least thirty-four. And, as in the headings of chapters prefixed to the book, there is a distinct place assigned to the Jewish sects, —τίνα τὰ Ιουδαίοις ἔθη, καὶ πόσαι τούτων διαφορά,—" What are the customs of the Jews, and how many their differences?"-we cannot see how it is possible not to enumerate the whole Jewish nation at all events as one head, if we do not make each of the three sects a distinct title. In any case the number of heresies described in the existing treatise cannot by possibility be made to correspond with that laid down by Photius.

On the other hand, this very authority of Photius may seem to suggest an exceedingly important conjecture. We shall see, hereafter, that the article on Callistus and the Callistian heresy (which immediately follows that of Noetus) contains a narrative entirely unsupported by all ancient writers, and, as we shall show, irreconcilable with the facts as they are represented by every other Roman authority. May not Photius's description be, after all, literally correct? May it not be that the account of the heresies, as it came from the pen of Hippolytus, did really end with "Noetus and the Noetians?" May it not be that the whole passage about Callistus is a subsequent interpolation, and therefore devoid of all authority, much more of such authority as it might derive from the name of Hippolytus? The conjecture is certainly far from im-Taking the words of Photius literally, it is impossible to evade it; and we need scarcely call attention to the significant fact, that if Noetus be taken as the last in the list of heretics, the total number will be exactly what Photius describes, thirty-two-no more and no less.

(4.) Photius ascribes certain errors to the author whose work he had in his hands, and among these the denial of St. Paul's authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

Now of this denial there is no trace whatever in the work as it now exists. It is true that two entire books, and a portion of two others is still wanting; but none of these explain the nature of the subject which they treated, viz., the systems of the heathen philosophers, seem likely to have offered any opportunity for the expression of an opinion so little akin to the matter in question.

(5.) Nearly one half of the present work, (four books out of the ten of which the work consists,) treat of the philosophical systems of the ancients; nor is it till the commencement of the fifth book that the author enters on his examination of the heresies. If we may judge, too, from those which remain, it may be presumed that the earlier were considerably longer than the latter ones which treat The fourth book, for instance, is nearly of the heresies. as large as the seventh, eighth, and ninth taken together. These four books are entirely overlooked by Photius, who says that the work begins with the heresy of the Dosithans. Now it cannot but appear strange that, in describing such a work, Photius should have omitted all notice of so large a portion of its contents as the Philosophumena. And it must not be forgotten that the four preliminary books, thus overlooked by Photius, are absolutely indispensable to the very essence of the author's plan; which is, avowedly, to demonstrate that the heretics have but stolen [kheythoyes] from heathen philosophy the doctrines which they put forward as their own. No one could consider as unimportant such a vital member of the enquiry, and certainly least of all a lover of the old Greek philosophy like the learned author of the Bibliotheca.

(6.) There is a still less equivocal evidence of non-identity. Among the ancient authors who name Hippolytus as having written a work "Against all Heresies," there is one, already referred to, St. Peter of Alexandria, who actually cites a passage from his work. It regards the Quarto-deciman heresy. One would say that this, above all others, should be the satisfactory test of the identity or non-identity of the work with that known to the ancients as the treatise of Hippolytus. Now, unfortunately for M. Bunsen's theory, the passage cited by St.

^{*} See the Προοιμιον, p. 4. Αλλ' ἔστιν αὐτοῖς δοξαζομενα ἀρχην μεν ἐκ τῆς Ελλήνων σοφίας λαβοντα, and the end of the fourth book, p. 92.

Peter from Hippolytus, is not found in our MS. at all. The article on the Quarto-deciman heresy where it would naturally be looked for, is at pp. 273-4. It is very short, and does not contain one single word of St. Peter's quotation. What is worse, St. Peter's quotation from Hippolytus is an argument against Quarto-decimanism. Now the present text does not contain even the substance of any such argument, nor a single allusion to any principle from which such an argument could be drawn. M. Bunsen strives hard to show, from the context, that the paragraph is incomplete, and that it formerly did contain this argument. (i. 108.) We must own we can discover no trace of such incompleteness. He argues from the words with which it begins, "Ετεροι δέ τίνες," that the sentence must have contained another member, (commencing we presume, with the correlative $\mu \in \nu$;) but he forgets that this be is only the ordinary particle with which the writer commences his account of each heresy in succession. The very next paragraph, on the Montanists, (p. 275,) begins, "Ετεροι δε αντοι;" the next, on the Encralites, in like manner, commences (p. 276,) Ετεροι δέ εαθτους άποκαλοθντες Έγκρατίτας. And, in truth, from the very nature of the subject, which is treated in successive divisions, it is impossible that it should be otherwise.

But though for these, and several similar reasons, we feel ourselves unable to yield so full and unreserved an assent to the claim of Hippolytus as M. Bunsen would demand; yet we must confess to our belief, that it is at least the most probable which has yet been suggested. most eminent critics of Protestant Germany, as Dr. Duncker * and Professor Jacobi, † (one of the most distinguished of the disciples of Neander,) have pronounced in its favour; and we know that the same opinion is entertained by the great founder of the new Catholic school of history and criticism, Dr. Döllinger. For ourselves, after a careful and minute examination, we re led to the belief that the work "Against all Heresies," its integrity, was from the pen of Hippolytus; yet we are equally satisfied that the present publication does not present the original work in its integrity, but that it has been freely and frequently tampered with, especially in the

^{*} In the "Göttingen Gelehrte Anzeiger."
† In the "Deutsche Zeitschrift für Christliche Wissenschaft"

latter books, many passages of which are evidently but summaries, or abridgments of the original. We are satisfied, further, that the work, in its present form, presents evident and unmistakable traces of a Novatian hand.

Of the general statement that the present work bears evidence of having been tampered with, it is hardly necessary to offer much evidence. It is, in many cases, plain upon the very face of the text. A glaring example will be found in the sixth book. To each of the books is prefixed, according to the usual style of the writers of that age, a sort of summary of its contents. The last of the heads of the summary of the sixth book promises an account of "the doctrines of Marcus and Colarbasus." (p. 160.) Now the book itself contains not a single word about the errors of Colarbasus! And, to make the suppression more palpable, the unskilful fabricator has omitted to exclude from the end of the book a sentence by which the omission is at once detected; for he complacently closes the book with a selfsatisfied declaration, that he "feels he has sufficiently explained their silly doctrines, and clearly shown whose disciples were Marcus and Colarbasus, the successors of the school of the Valentinians." (p. 222.) And this, although the name of Colarbasus had not been even mentioned in the body of the book!

Indeed, we have already seen that M. Bunsen himself fully admits that the present text is in some places but a summary. He confesses that many of the articles are but "hasty abstracts" (i. 101.) The article on the Quartodecimans, he says, is but an abridgment "carelessly made" (p. 110.) Other parts, he confesses, are but abstracts of the original, "and these not carefully made" (p. 102.) And he even goes the length of pronouncing one whole section of the work a "stupid and careless abridgment."—p. 110. He confesses this especially of the article on the Montanists (p. 112); and it is particularly worthy of note that the features of Montanism which do not appear in this abridgment, are precisely those, (as the prohibition of second marriages, the denial of the remissibility of grievous sins, and similar rigid doctrines,) which formed the main doctrinal ground of the Novatian revolt against the authority of the Church. On this point, however, we shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

Having said so much on the authorship and the integrity of this interesting relic, we shall proceed to consider whether it be indeed true, that its discovery is pregnant with those wonderful results to theological science which

M. Bunsen is fain to anticipate.

The work originally consisted of ten books. Its general scope, as we have already explained, was not merely to detail and to confute the doctrines of the various heretics who had appeared up to the author's time; but also to show that these doctrines were drawn not from the Scriptures or the traditions of the Saints, but from the systems of the Gentile philosophers. With this view the history of the several heresies is prefaced by a detailed and elaborate account of the various philosophic systems of the Gentile world, which occupies the first four books of the treatise, and which has given to the portion of the work published by Gronovius, the title of Philosophumena. Of these books, however, two (the second and third) still remain undiscovered, and of the first we possess but the imperfect fragment recovered by Gronovius; the tenth also is still imperfect. The MS. from which M. Miller's edition is drawn begins with the fourth book, and breaks off abruptly before the end of the tenth. It would seem very doubtful whether Photius had seen more of the work than the mere account of the heresies, which begins in the fifth book. But M. Miller's fragment contains one book more —the fourth, or the last of the Philosophumena. That the older copy from which it was transcribed, was itself similarly imperfect, and contained none of the earlier books, is plain from the paging of the existing MS. Whether the latter books were literally transcribed by the copyist from the MS. which he had before him, or whether the omissions and contractions of which the present book exhibits so many evidences, be the work of the modern compiler, it is of course impossible to decide.

From the account of Hippolytus's book given by Photius, it might be inferred that it was a mere abridgment of the work of his master, St. Irenæus. And it is true that there are several articles in the volume before us which are in great part but a transcript of the corresponding portion of St. Irenæus. But it would be a great injustice to the author to understand the words of Photius literally. Some of his notices of the heresies are entirely new. Many of them contain much novel and interesting matter; and it is especially remarkable that they abound with extracts from the writings of the heretics themselves, to a

degree quite unknown in the other writers on the same subject, whether before or after his time. Neither in those who, like Irenæus, Epiphanius, or Theodoret, have written on the general history of the early heresies, nor even in those who have addressed them to the analysis and refutation of particular errors, do we find so much really satisfactory material for a philosophical estimate of the actual opinions of the heretics themselves, as in some of the brief but pithy sketches of the little treatise which has been thus happily discovered. We may add that the same is true for the works of those philosophers to the exposition of whose systems the Philosophumena is devoted. Many of the fragments of lost classics, both prose and poetry, contained in the fourth book, are in the highest degree interesting; and their discovery appears likely to form a not unimportant epoch in the history of classical criticism.

For the purpose of our enquiry, however, the chief interest of the work commences with the fifth book; in which the writer proceeds, by a detailed account of the doctrines and practices of the heretical sects, to demonstrate his main thesis, viz.; that they "did not draw these conclusions from the sacred Scriptures, nor arrive at these principles by keeping the tradition of any holy man; but that their doctrines had their origin from the wisdom of the Greeks, from the dogmas devised by the philosophers, and from the mysteries which they celebrated, and from crazy astrologers." | ἀστρολόγων ῥεμβομένων]—p. 4.

We need scarcely call attention, in passing, to the striking testimony supplied by this extract to the authority of tradition. If the doctrine of the all-sufficiency of the Bible had been the popular belief of the days of this writer, it would have been enough for him to show that the heretical systems were not drawn from the Holy Scriptures. But he does not stop there. He anticipates the ready answer, that, although not contained in Scripture, they might have been learned from tradition; and, in order to make his thesis complete, he adds "nor from the tradition of any holy man." In the Protestant hypothesis the passage would be utterly unmeaning.

The enumeration of the heretics detailed in a former page will sufficiently explain the contents of the fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth books of the treatise.

The tenth book may be regarded as a recapitulation of the entire work. It is divided into three parts. The first is a resume of the systems and opinions of the Gentile philosophers, especially in their bearing upon the

great fundamental questions of religion. The second is a similar recapitulation of the heresies which had been enumerated in the body of the treatise; but it is worthy of note that the recapitulation is neither complete, nor arranged in the same order as that followed in the treatise. Only twenty-two heresies are enumerated in this recapitulation; and among those which are omitted is the heresy of the Colobarsians, which, as we have seen, had disappeared from the body of the treatise also. It is curious, however, that several others which are commonly regarded as of considerable importance, (as the heresy of Saturninus, that of Menander, of Encratites, and, above all, of the Quarto-decimans,) are passed over in the sum-We should add, that here, also, as in the body of the treatise, the list of heresies does not terminate with the Noetians, as did that of the work which Photius ascribed to Hippolytus. After Noetus we find in this recapitulation (p. 330) not only Elchasai, as in the body of the book, but also Hermogenes; although the errors of the latter bore no affinity whatever to those of the Noetian school.

The third part contains the author's own verdict on all 'επὶ πασι, τὸς ὁ της ἀληθείας λόγος—" What is the judgment of truth upon all."

We do not purpose to enter minutely into the author's account of the several heresies, although we agree with M. Bunsen that it affords material for long and most interesting research, and clears up much in their history that was heretofore obscure and even incredible. By far the largest share of curiosity, and indeed of real interest, has been excited by one particular section, that regarding the Roman Pontiff, Callistus; and it is to this we mean chiefly to address ourselves. We shall but observe, in passing, upon one or two points in the history of the heresies which seem to deserve especial notice.

M. Bunsen has called attention repeatedly in the course of his first volume, to doctrines, allusions, and positive statements, which go directly to disprove the theory of Strauss, Baur, and the other writers of the Tübingen school, that the Gospel of St. John could not have been written at the period to which we ascribe it, inasmuch as it plainly supposes the existence of the Gnostic heresies, which are known to have been of a much more recent data.

One of the most striking and satisfactory historical evidences of the falsehood of this theory is found in the history of the Justinian heresy as given in the work before us. Justinus is the fourth in order, on our author's list. We shall transcribe M. Bunsen's brief analysis of this article.

"Justinus, not of course the martyr, but the Gnostic, who wrote the 'Book of Baruch' for his sect. He regarded Jesus as the son of Mary and Joseph. His followers had other sacred books. They also adopted three causes or first principles, and had genealogies of angels, springing from Elohim and Edem (Eden), the female principle. Amongst their names we meet Amen, which may explain Apoc. iii. 14: and the well-known Achamoth of the Irenæan Ophites. Elohim sends Baruch to Jesus when he was twelve years of age, in the time of Herod, watching sheep. He brought him the message of the true God, and encouraged him to announce it to mankind. Jesus answered, 'Lord, I will do all.' The Serpent, becoming wroth at this, brought about his death on the cross. The

followers of this sect took a frightful oath when initiated.

"Of all this we knew next to nothing hitherto. It is now clear that we have to deal with sects which were coeval with Peter and Paul, as Simon was. But they started from foreign Judaism, mixed up with the pantheistic mysticism of Asia Minor. Hereby they were also opposed to the Valentinians, who started from Gentile ground; although being Christians, they could not help drawing Judaism into the sphere of their speculations. Our author, as we shall see presently, derives the Valentinian principles from Simon, and brings Cerinthus, who also belongs to the first century, into connection with them. But he distinguishes the Ophites entirely from all these, and places them at the head of the whole list, which he repeatedly says, indicates the order they appeared in. Irenæus represents the Ophites expressly as predecessors of Valentinianism: but the schools he enumerates are evidently mixed up with this system. Nothing is more natural. The first outburst of Gnosticism sprang from a mixture of Christianity with Phrygian Judaism, imbued generally with Gentile speculations, orgies and mysteries. The Jewish element was considered as the least important. after Valentinus had taken upon himself to solve that great problem of the world's history, Judaism, by interpreting it as the working of the Demiurg, or the mundane evil principle, those Gnostics appropriated many of the leading speculations and fictions of Valentinianism. Thus we can explain the representation, which Irenæus, in the last two chapters of his first book, gives of the Ophitic systems. We have only now the pure, primitive Ophites before us.

"And are they really unknown to us? I hope, on the contrary, my dear friend, you will agree with me, that most probably we have here the very heretics to whom the Apostle alludes in the fourth

chapter of his First Epistle to Timothy. The 'endless genealogies' (i. 4.) must be explained, as many have suggested, of the cosmological genealogies of cons or angels. Here we have them in the very words of the most aucient sects. All that has been said against the Pauline origin of that Epistle, and of the Pastoral Letters in general, on the score of the allusions to heretics, thus falls to the ground. I believe I have proved in my 'Letters on Ignatius,' that the internal state of the Church, as to the organization of the

congregations, leads irresistibly to the same result.

"But do you not see, that the whole scheme of the late origin of the Gospel of St. John falls also to the ground, if our book is authentic, as undoubtedly it is, and if our author deserves credit for the arrangement of his historical account, and justly claims authority for his extracts from the sacred books of those Phrygian-Jewish fathers of Gnosticism? The Ophites all know the Logos, and all worship the Serpent as his symbol, or that of the Demiurg opposed to him: for on that point there seems to have been a difference among them. They refer, however, not to the Logos of Philo, but to the Logos personified in man, and identified with Jesus of Nazareth, the son of Mary. The only admissible alternative, therefore, seems to be this. When St. John, towards the end of the first century, wrote down his evidence respecting Jesus the Christ, and placed at the head of his exposition those simple and grand words on the Logos, he either referred to sects who had abused the speculations about the Logos, as God's thought of himself, or he did not. If he did, as it seems to me impossible to doubt, he cannot have had in mind so much the philosophical followers of Philo, who abhorred the very idea of the personal union of the Logos with Man, as the Christian heretics who perverted this idea in one way or another. This being the case, I maintain that he had before him the very sects which we have now become acquainted with from their own writings, the very titles of which we did not know hitherto. At all events then, what the Apostle says in not the Christian and popular expression of a speculative system of Valentinianism, but the simple statement of the fact, that the Logos is neither an abstract notion, nor an angel, nor an æon (if that word existed as a term), but that He is one with the Man Jesus, the Christ.

"That this reasoning is sound, the progress of our researches will easily prove. For even in the second stage of Gnosticism, the Gentile one, we find the very words of St. John evidently alluded to, long before the last quarter or third of the second century, when, according to the most unhappy of all philological conjectures, and the most untrue of all historical views, the system of Strauss and Baur, that Gospel made its appearance as the fag-end of Gnos-

ticism!"—Vol. i. p. 38—42.

In the same way, the account given by the author of the heresy of Simon Magus, disproves an imputed anachronism

which has been similarly urged against the genuineness of the Epistles of Ignatius. In the Epistle to the Magnesians, there is clear allusion to the well-known Gnostic Principle, Sigé, (Sign-silence.) Some of the defenders of the Ignatian Epistles have attempted to explain away the passage; but it seems scarcely possible to doubt that the allusion is to the Gnostic Sigé. Now, as far as our knowledge heretofore enabled us to decide, the Sigé was an invention of Valentinus, (who flourished after the death of Ignatius;) and does not occur in any of the older Gnostic systems; -a fact, which, if substantiated, would be fatal to the genuineness at least of one letter. But the present work removes all difficulty. The Sigé, we now find, entered into the system of Simon Magus himself-the parent of Gnosticism; and therefore dates even from the Apostolic age. The author gives many extracts from the great work of the Simonians, the "Great Announcement" [A'ποφάσις Μέγαλη] in one of which (p. 273) there is a distinct mention of the Sige, ήτις εστι εύναμις, Σίγη, αοράτος ακατα-The allusion to this principle, therefore, in the Ignatian Epistles, so far from being an anachronism, is rather a confirmation of their genuineness, as evincing their general harmony with the spirit of their age.

In his account of Simon the Magician, the author does not allude to the much-disputed statue, alleged by Irenæus, Justin, and Tertullian, to have been erected to him at Rome, with the inscription Simoni Deo Sancto; from which M. Bunsen at once concludes against the truth of the story. At best, of course, the argument is only a negative one. But there is enough in the account which the author gives, to render the aucient tradition highly probable. He fully confirms the fact of Simon's residence at Rome.—(p. 176.) In another page (172) he assures us that he was worshipped as a god. That worship was not only paid to his person, but even to his image; (p. 175) and, as if to give to the previous story of the Roman statue more probability, he tells us that this image of Si-

mon was under the figure of Jupiter. (176)

He also confirms the tradition of Simon's encounter with the Apostles, and of St. Peter's residence in Rome, (p. 176) although the legend of the fall of Simon appears in a form different from that commonly received. There is no account of his attempt to fly in the air, and of his being cast to the ground by the prayer of St. Peter, although at the same time there is nothing in the text inconsistent with this narrative. The end of his career, according to our author, was this. In order to impose on the credulity of his followers, he told them that "if he were buried alive he would rise again the third day. He therefore ordered a grave to be dug, and directed that he should be buried therein." (p. 176.) The disciples, he goes on to say, did as Simon directed. He was buried in the grave they had prepared, "but," he adds with quiet humour, "there he has lain to the present hour!"

[ο δέ απεμεινεν έως νθν.] (ibid.)

We cannot help observing the same tendency to depreciate ancient traditions and authorities, in M. Bunsen's account of the Carpocratian heresy. He inclines, from the discrepancies which he discovers between the view given by our author of the doctrines of this sect, and that given by Irenæus and the other historians, to believe that the monstrously immoral principles imputed to their system are the result of misconception or misrepresentation. (i. p. 82.) Irenœus (B. c. 24,) attributes to them -"such a degree of madness, that they declare it lawful to commit all acts, however irreligious and impious; for they hold that the distinction of good and evil acts lies solely in the opinion of men." Now, because our author, although the account of Irenæus is, in most other respects, copied literally by him, omits this revolting sentence, M. Bunsen concludes that he does not adopt this imputation of his master against Carpocrates. But surely, the same charge is fully contained and explicitly made in the very sentence which follows, where the author declares that "they [the Carpocratians] say the transmigration of souls is dependent on their filling up the measure of all sins;" and thus make the indulgence in every excess the condition of that transmigration by which, according to Carpocrates's system, the soul is ultimately to be freed from its present bondage.

We cannot pass over the author's short sketch of the heresy of Marcus, which, in the main, corresponds with that of Irenæus. It is so very curious that we shall trans-

late it at length.

"A certain other disciple of these, Marcus, an adept in magic, deceived many persons, partly by his gift of sleight of hand, partly by diabolical assistance. This man affirmed that the Supreme Power, from the invisible and nameless regions, resided in himself.

And on many occasions he took the chalice, as though celebrating the Eucharist; and, extending to a great length the form of invocation, he caused the mixture to appear purple and then red; so that it seemed that a certain supernatural grace entered into these victims of his deceit, and imparted a blood-like power [άιματώδη δύναμιν] to the draught. The impostor for a time deceived many persons, but, now that he is exposed, his career will come to an end. For the trick consisted in his secretly slipping into the mixture a certain colouring drug, and then delaying, by trifling the time away, until this drug, having imbibed the moisture, became dissolved, and, amalgamating with the fluid, imparted its own colour thereto. For we have already stated in the 'Book against the Magicians,' that there are certain drugs which possess this property: and we have explained how, by these impostures, they ruin many persons, who, if they chose to examine carefully what we have there said, will discover the nature of the fraud practised by Marcus."-p. 200.

Another of the juggleries of Marcus also was connected with the Blessed Eucharist.

"He mixed a chalice, and gave it to a woman to pronounce the Eucharistic blessing, [ἐνχαριστειν] he himself standing at her side, and holding a second chalice of a larger size, empty; and when this dupe of his had pronounced the Eucharistic words, he took the chalice from her, and pouring it into the larger one, and thus pouring and repouring it many times from one chalice to the other. he spoke thus: 'May the inconceivable and unutterable Grace, which existed before all things, fill thy inner man, and fill up in thee the knowledge of itself, sowing the grain of mustard seed in the good soil!' Having uttered some such words as these, and having thrown his dupe and the by-standers into an ecstasy. [έκστήσις] he was looked on as a miracle-worker, the larger chalice having been filled by the contents of the lesser one, so as even to overflow. In the book already named, we have explained this trick also; having shewn that there are very many drugs which, when mingled in this way with most substances, and especially with wine mixed with water, have the property of increasing in volume. Now he managed furtively to place some one of these drugs in the empty chalice, after having exhibited it as empty; and then pouring in upon it the contents of the other chalice, and pouring it back, the drug effervesced when mixed with the fluid, (having of its own nature the property of thus expanding;) and thus the mixture increased in volume, and continued to increase in the same proportion as it was poured backwards and forwards, such being the natural property of the drug. But if one were to take the chalice which had thus become full, and lay it aside for a time, it would soon shrink back to its natural dimensions, the power of the drug being exhausted by its remaining in the fluid; and therefore, to avoid this, he gave it with great speed for the bystanders to drink,

and they, regarding it as a supernatural and divinely-imparted gift, drank it with a mixture of awe and precipitation."—pp. 200-1.

We have thought it interesting to translate these curious passages entire, on account of the light which they appear to throw on the doctrine of the early Church regarding the Blessed Eucharist. M. Bunsen contents himself with saying that Marcus "used his tricks in the very consecration of the communion." (p. 73.) We think, however, that the narrative will be found to possess a very special significance. That both the tricks did regard the consecration of the communion, is sufficiently plain. second of them-the filling a large chalice with the contents of a smaller one-although very curious, is not perhaps of so much importance. It shows, at least, that the Christians of Marcus's time were not mere Socinians or Sacramentarians; and that, in the popular notion then prevalent about the Eucharistic consecration, it was regarded as, in some sense, a mysterious and miraculous operation. Marcus's attempt to magnify the volume of the fluid, would of itself imply at least so much, and would thus go to show that the belief of the time regarding the Eucharist, whatever its precise nature may have been, involved, at all events, in some general way, the idea of a supernatural and miraculous interposition affecting the physical nature of its elements.

But the first of his tricks—the attempt to change the wine into blood-points with a distinctness which it is impossible to evade, to the belief not alone in the reality of the presence of our Lord's Body and Blood after consecration, but even to the transubstantiation of the elements. What else is meant by the device, clumsy as it was, which he employed to make the mixture first purple, and then red, and eventually to make his dupes believe that it had a blood-like power? Would such a cheat ever have been suggested, except by the popular belief in the transubstantiation of the elements? Was not the whole trick in fact, a mere attempt to place sensibly before the eye the very transformation which, our faith teaches us, is invisibly performed by the Eucharistic And could such a trick ever have origiconsecration? nated, except in an age whose faith about the Eucharistic

presence precisely corresponded with ours?

* But we are indulging too long on these points. We need scarcely say that the real difficulty in the examination of a work like the present lies in the superabundance of interesting topics which press themselves upon one's notice. We shall henceforward resolutely shut our eyes against them all, and reserve the entire space which remains, for the topic which has created by far the largest share of interest ;-viz.: the "scandalous revelations" which it contains regarding the character and opinions of two Roman Pontiffs, hitherto regarded as saints—Zephyrinus, whose pontificate extends from A.D. 201 to 218, and, still more, Callistus, from 218 to 223. The "chronique scandaleuse," (as it is called,) which these pages contain, has been accepted with the utmost exultation by the enemies of the papal authority; and although M. Bunsen affects a deprecatory tone, and, in considering the bearing of the parrative upon the character of the Roman Church, professes to make allowance for the "inherent vices of all churches, from the management of which the people are excluded," (i. p. 126,) yet it is plain that he takes a malicious pleasure in bringing out into relief every point of the details of the scandal, and even heightening the effect of the original, by his own ingenious criticism and commentary.

We think it best, however, to transcribe literally M. Bunsen's summary of the narrative, merely premising that it is introduced in connexion with the Noetian heresy. It is a long passage; but its importance will be our apology for extracting it in its integrity.

"We know that in the latter years of the reign of the unworthy son of the philosophical and virtuous but inefficient emperor Marcus Aurelius, Commodus, his mistress Marcia played a conspicuous part in the history of the palace. She married, as a matter of course it would appear, the captain of the guards, and was believed to exercise a great influence on the emperor. When his brutal temper became unbearable, she was privy to the conspiracy which put him to death by poison and suffocation.

"Of this Marcia we knew already, from Dion, that she was very kind to the Christians. We learn now from Hippolytus, that she was Godloving $(\phi \iota \lambda \delta \partial eos)$, that is to say that she had been converted to the Christian faith.

"The part she acts in the life of Callistus is peculiarly interesting. There was under Commodus, when Victor was bishop of Rome,

^{*} Especially the Quarterly Reviewer of the Philosophumena.

a good Christian soul called Carpophorus, who had a Christian slave, of the name of Callistus. To help him on, he gave him the administration of a bank, which he kept in that celebrated quarter of Rome called the Piscina publica. Many brethren and widows trusted their money to this bank, having great faith in the Christian character of Carpophorus. But Callistus turned out a rogue: he made away with the sums entrusted to him; and when the depositors wanted their money, it was gone. Their complaints came before Carpophorus; he asked for the accounts; and when the fraud could no longer be concealed, Callistus made his escape. He ran down to the harbour, Portus, some twenty miles from Rome, found a ship ready to start, and embarked. Carpophorus was not slow to follow him, and found the ship moored in the middle of the harbour. He took a boat to claim the criminal. Callistus seeing no escape, threw himself into the sea, and was with difficulty saved, and delivered up to his master, who taking the matter into his own hands, gave him the domestic treadmill of the Roman slave-owners, the pistrinum. Some time passed, and as is wont to happen (says Hippolytus), some brethren came to Carpophorus, and said he ought to give poor Callistus a fair chance of regaining his character, or at least his money. He pretended he had money outstanding, and that, if he could only go about, he should recover it. said good Carpophorus, slet him go and try what he can recover: I do not care much for my own money, but I mind that of the poor widows.' So Callistus went out on a Sabbath (Saturday), pretending he had to recover some money from the Jews, but in fact having resolved to do something desperate, which might put an end to his life, or give a turn to his case. He went into a synagogue and raised a great riot there, saying he was a Christian, and interrupting their service. The Jews were of course enraged at this insult, fell upon him, beat him, and then carried him before Fuscianus, the prefect of Rome. When this judge, a very severe man, was hearing the cause, somebody recognized Callistus, and ran to tell Carpophorus what was going on. Carpophorus went immediately to the court, and said: 'This fellow is no Christian, but wants to get rid of his life, having robbed me of much money, as I will The Jews, thinking this was a Christian stratagem to save Callistus, insisted upon having him punished for disturbing them in the lawful exercise of their worship. Fuscianus therefore sentenced him to be scourged, and then transported to the unwholesome parts of Sardinia, so fatal to life in summer (Strabo, v. 2, § 7, 8).

"Some time after, says Hippolytus, Marcia wishing to do a good work, sent for bishop Victor and asked what Christians had been tranported to Sardinia; adding, she would beg the emperor to release them. The bishop made out a list of them; but being a judicious and righteous man, omitted the name of Callistus, knowing the offence he had committed.

"Marcia obtained the letter of pardon; and Hyacinthus a eunuch

(of the service of the palace undoubtedly), and a presbyter (of the Church), was dispatched to the governor of the island to claim and bring back the martyrs. Hyacinthus delivered his list: and Callistus, finding his name was not upon it, began to lament and entreat and at last moved Hyacinthus to demand his liberation also. Here the text is somewhat obscure; but thus much is clear, that his liberation was obtained by bringing the name of Marcia into play.

"When Callistus made his appearance, Victor was very much vexed; the scandal had not been forgotten, and Carpophorus (his lawful master) was still alive. So he sent him off to Antium (Porto d'Anzo), and gave him a certain sum a month. Whether it was here Callistus fell in with Zephyrinus, or at Rome itself, no sooner was Carpophorus dead, than Zephyrinus now become bishop of Rome, made him his coadjutor to keep his clergy in order, and gave himself up to him so entirely, that Callistus did with him what he liked. Unfortunately, says Hippolytus, Zephyrinus was not only very stupid and ignorant, but loving money very much, took bribes. Things went on in this way until Zephyrinus died, when Callistus was elected to the eminent post he had coveted all the time. He became bishop of Rome, and the theological disputes in that Church

began to be envenomed.

"Noetus' sect was already spreading in Rome. Sabellius was a rising man and began his speculations. Hippolytus gives us clearly to understand that backed by others of the presbytery, he had already remonstrated against some of Sabellius' speculations on the Trinity, in the time of 'Zephyrinus. 'Now,' he adds (p. 205.) 'Sabellius was softened by these our remonstrances: but, when he was alone with Callistus' (who then protected and favoured the Noetian Theological Co!lege established at Rome, and at that time presided over by Cleomenes, the disciple of Noetus' ancient deacon or minister), 'Callistus excited him to turn towards the system of Cleomenes, pretending that they agreed. He did not, however, side openly with Sabellius, but in private told each party, that he was favourable to their views, setting them as much as he could against each other.' Now Sabellius, says Hippolytus, did not at that time see through the roguery of Callistus; but he afterwards how it

"For, when Callistus had been made bishop of Rome, he threw off Sabellius as not orthodox. 'He did so,' continues Hippolytus, because he was afraid of me, and thought he might in this manner wash off the accusation which lay against him before the Church, showing himself not to be heterodox.' But now the question arose how he could set himself right with Hippolytus and his party. For they, under Zephyrinus, had resisted Sabellius, then favoured by the episcopal influence; and Callistus, having at that time the bishop and most of the presbyters with him (p. 285. 1,), had insulted Hippolytus and his friends by saying to them in the open presbytery, 'You are ditheists.' Now Callistus, says Hippolytus, thought

he must make good those insulting words; and therefore, instead of giving honour to the truth, and saying, 'As Sabellius is wrong, you are right,' he gave the Noetian heresy that turn, the formula of which I have placed opposite to that of Noetus (or Cleomenes) himself. He established a school, in which that doctrine was taught, as Hippolytus says, in opposition to the Church.

"But he did worse as to practical Christianity, adds our father. To the satisfaction of a great many who for misconduct had been removed from the communion of the Church, and now flocked to that school, he set up the doctrine 'that he forgave the sins of all.' In order to screen himself he further laid down the principle: 'If a bishop commits a sin, be it even a sin unto death, he must not be deposed (or obliged to abdicate) for all that.'

"This was a bold measure. For at that time, although the congregational rights of the laity had been suppressed, except in their sanction to the election of a bishop, the presbytery still claimed, and more or less maintained, a supreme judicial power in matters of faith and discipline.

"Now what was the consequence? Bishops, presbyters, and deacons were received into orders, after having been married twice, or even thrice.* Even he who married, when already in orders, might do so undisturbed. 'Did not our Saviour say. Let the tares grow with the wheat? Were there not unclean beasts in the Ark? Such, therefore, must also be in the Church.' These and like Scriptural arguments were brought forward by Callistus. No wonder his party increased wonderfully. He particularly favoured single ladies of rank, who wished to have a substitute for a husband in the humble form of a slave, or of a low-born freeman, and who might prefer having no children, so as not to displease their relations; for these would not be so severe if their large property remained in the family. In short, Callistus must have preached, according to Hippolytus, something like Molière's Tartuffe:

'Il y a avec le ciel des accommodemens.'

"Such was Callistus' conduct according to Hippolytus; his school was still flourishing, and its followers and abettors were called from their founder *Callistians*,"—Vol. i. pp. 126—134.

Such is M. Bunsen's resumé of the "strange revela-

^{*} This statement of M. Bunsen's, as it stands, might seem to imply that even bishops and priests, when actually in orders, were permitted to marry. But the original text does not suppose such a construction. It simply says, "But even if any one, being in the clergy, should marry," (& & & kát tis & khíph ŵr yahoin, p. 290,) which applies equally to all ranks of the clerical state, even the very lowest. And it is contrary to all historical evidence to understand it of the higher orders of bishop or priest.

tions" contained in this curious chapter of early history. Let us proceed calmly to weigh their consequences.

We are met, at the very first step, by a sneer at the boasted infallibility of our Church. "Here," we are tauntingly reminded, "is one of the saints canonized by your infallible Church, who turns out to be no better than a rogue and a swindler; and what is worse, the head of this infallible Church of yours is proved, by indisputable evidence, to have been a pestilent heretic."

The charge, no doubt, is, at first sight, a startling one. But, like most others from the same quarter, it only needs to be analysed, in order to be refuted.

Two questions will naturally present themselves regard-

First, supposing this strange and startling story to be perfectly true, does it really involve any compromise of the infallibility of the Church?

Secondly, is the story really true?

We shall take these questions in succession.

I. Supposing, then, for a moment, the truth of this strange narrative, there are just two ways in which the alleged discovery of the wickedness and the heretical teachings of Callistus might appear to compromise the infallibility of the Church.

Either, first, the Church might be held convicted of having forfeited her infallibility by canonizing as a saint a man who is now shown to have been a swindler, a hypocrite, and a heretic.

Or, secondly, the Church might be supposed, through the false and heretical teaching of her Head, to have committed herself to heresy, and thus to have fallen into actual error.

Now we maintain that, consistently with every principle of Catholic belief, both members of the story may be satisfactorily explained, without prejudice to the infallibility of the Church, as it is maintained by Catholics.

First, as to the canonization of an unworthy individual.

(1) We might absolutely decline to vindicate the Church upon this head; inasmuch as we are not in strictness bound to hold that she is infallible in a question which rests upon matters of fact, and mainly depends upon human testimony. But we shall not rest on this.

(2) For it by no means follows that because, at one period of his life, Callistus was convicted of dishonesty,

and even of heterodoxy, therefore he must have persisted to the end in the same career; although, at the time to which this writer alludes, he may have been all that he represents, and worse, still he may have died in the odour of sanctity. He is venerated, let it be remembered, not as a confessor, but as a martyr. Now may not the errors and backslidings of his earlier career be held to have been washed out by the blood which he shed for the name of Christ? Does not St. Augustine tell us the same for the errors of St. Cyprian, and the intemperate heat with which he defended them? Is not the catalogue of early saints in great part filled with the names of penitents, of some among whom we know little beyond the memory of their We shall even see that this very apology is offered, to explain how it is that some of the errors of St. Hippolytus himself, to whom the charges against Callistus are attributed, have not interfered with his being admitted to the honours of a saint.

Either one or other of these replies is thoroughly consistent with every principle of Catholic faith, and both may be satisfactorily maintained. On the first ground of objection, therefore—the imputed error in the canonization of Callistus—we rest perfectly secure.

In the second place, the actual infallibility of the Church in teaching could not possibly be compromised by the alleged heresy of Callistus.

(1) It is not pretended that the Church, as a body, issued any formal doctrinal declaration embodying the errors attributed to Callistus. On the contrary, it is certain that she condemned the same errors in Noetus, in Sabellius, and several of their disciples.

(2) It cannot be held that the act of Callistus, as it is detailed by our author, was of such a nature as to commit the body of the Church to any error which it may have involved. Catholics do not hold the doctrinal decisions of the Pope to be binding as of faith, unless when they are addressed to the entire Church, and received, at least tacitly, by the body of the pastors. Now, it is not pretended that, in the case of Callistus, there was any such proposition of the error which is imputed to him, much less any acceptance on the part of the Church.

(3) Even against Ultramontanes, who maintain the infallibility of the dogmatical definitions of the Roman Pontiff, before their acceptance by the Church, the case of

Callistus does not supply any solid argument. Urge the testimony of the author to its farthest limit; place the conduct of Callistus in its very worst light; it will not be found. nevertheless, to involve any consequence, which even the warmest advocate of the Ultramontane view of Papal infallibility need be afraid to encounter. The most zealous Ultramontanes distinguish between the personal and the official character of the Pontiff. It is in the latter only, as Head of the Church, as teaching and governing her, that they regard him as gifted with infallibility. They do not contend for the accuracy, nor even the orthodoxy, of his personal and private opinions. Now it is plain from the whole tenor of this assault on Callistus, that the writer contemplates his private and personal views alone. He does not pretend that Callistus issued any judicial and dogmatic decrees on the subject of Noetianism. On the contrary. he charges him with treachery and double-dealing, with trying to gain the favour of both parties by his crafty words, [κερκωπειοις λόγοις] with speaking to the orthodox in language suited to their views, and in like manner pandering to the opinions of the Sabellians. (p. 285.) In one word, it is perfectly plain that the writer contemplates not the public and officially-expressed opinions of the Pope, but the mere gossip and intrigue of his private life. Now no rational Ultramontane would consider himself bound to defend the private theological opinions of the Pontiff as immaculate in this particular.

(4.) But, lastly, even though there were any so disposed, we shall see hereafter, that what this assailant of Callistus complains of in his opinions, in reality was not held by him at all; but was merely a false and erroneous conclusion drawn by a passionate and intemperate assailant, from opinions and expressions perfectly sound and orthodox in themselves.

We will only add that our answer is precisely the same, as regards Callistus's alleged relaxations of discipline, and his imputed encouragement of immorality by the corrupt and guilty indulgence which the writer represents him as extending to grievous sinners. It is plain from the language which he uses, that he cavils, not at the official disciplinary enactments of the Pontiff, but at what he calls the corrupt administration of the man. And the worst inference which would follow from the fullest admission of

all his accusations in this particular, would be;—that the papacy has not been immaculate, even in the early ages: that there have been, even when the Church is reputed purest, corrupt and self-seeking men who abused their high trust for purposes of ambition and aggrandisement: and that Callistus was, unhappily, of this number.

We have said so much, for the purpose of showing that the enquiry as to the truth or falsehood of this imputation on the memory of Pope Callistus is one which involves no important principle of Catholic belief. To the most conscientious Catholic, even of the Ultramontane school, it presents no interest beyond that which any important historical or critical question must always imply; and it may be discussed with the most perfect liberty, irrespectively of any supposed consequences to Catholic faith or Catholic principle. We have thought it best in this way to disembarrass the historical investigation, by, in the school phrase, placing the dogma in tuto, as a preliminary proceeding.

II. It still remains, however, to examine the allegations against Callistus on their own merits.

Are these allegations really true? Stated shortly, the case is as follows:—

Callistus* was bishop of Rome about—(for there is some uncertainty even as to the date—the years 218-223. Of the detailed history of his pontificate, as of those of most of his fellow pontiffs down to the fourth century, no authentic records had reached us. But, at least, history had vouchsafed him "the charity of her silence." No imputation of heterodoxy or of crime rested on his memory. On the contrary, his name had been honoured, from the earliest period, among those of the martyrs of the Church. In the absence of positive impeachment, too, it would seem, to say the least, improbable that any charge so serious as that of heresy, could have been made against so prominent a bishop without leaving some trace in history. It would seem also specially improbable that, if he had been charged with a heresy on the fundamental doctrine of the Trinity, all record of it would have disappeared; the improbability is tenfold increased, by the fact that the imputed heresy

^{*} We shall limit the enquiry to Callistus, as it is against him the main charges lie. Zephyrinus is only incidentally alluded to.

[†] It occurs in the Liberian Calendar, compiled in 352.

was one which created a lively and general interest in the Church, and on which the Roman See itself pronounced an authoritative judgment; and a crowning circumstance in the array of improbabilities would seem to be, that the history of the very heresy into which he is now alleged to have fallen, has been professedly written by more than one early writer, without the least allusion to his fall;—a fact which, if true, would be the most important and most

startling that a historian could record.

Such is the condition of the case of Callistus, as described by all historians up to the year 1851. In that year a Greek MS, is heard of for the first time, confessedly modern, (not earlier than the fourteenth century), imperfect both at the beginning and the end, without any name, without any date, full of inaccuracies and corruptions, palpably abridged, inverted, transposed, and in other ways tampered with, so as in many places to be all but unintelligible. It is printed under the name of Origen; but, in a few weeks, is claimed for another author, Hippolytus of

Portus.

In the portion of this work which bears most evident and most numerous traces of the hands of the tamperer, is found a coarse and intemperate attack on Callistus; heated, angry, malignant, full of the bitterness of a partisan, and, from the recklessness of its imputations and the confidence with which the worst motives are imputed without evidence, presenting all the characteristics of a fierce and unscrupulous adversary. The substance of this attack has been already given in the extract from M. Bunsen. It represents Callistus as a detected swindler; a pretended martyr for the purpose of hiding his infamy; a convict; a hypocrite; a pander to the weakness and avarice of Zephyrinus; a double-dealer; a heretic at heart, yet a cowardly temporizer; a corrupt favourer of every species of crime both among the clergy and the laity; and a patron of immorality among the rich, and of the most infamous devices for its concealment. It is worthy of special note, also, that the fame of his heresy is stated to have been "noised abroad throughout the entire world."-κατα πάντα τον κοσμον διηχηθειση, p. 292.]

Such is a brief outline of the case.

On the one side, therefore, we have this *positive* testimony to the fact, that Pope Callistus was a rogue and a heretic.

On the other side we have (1) the positive testimony to orthodoxy and virtue which arises from his being regarded as a martyr and a saint (and that in a calendar composed within a century after his death); (2) the negative testimony to the same effect, from the silence of all the historians who have written upon the period; (3) the special improbability that the fall of such a bishop as Callistus could have passed unnoticed in history.

How are we to decide?

We shall endeavour to balance these evidences against one another, before we proceed farther.

And first, what is the value of this positive evidence,

such as we now find it?

In the first place, it is, to say the very least of the book in which it is now found, of doubtful authorship. The claim of Hippolytus, though probable, certainly is far from

unquestionable.

Secondly, even supposing that the work was written by Hippolytus, it remains to be seen whether, since his time, it has not undergone substantial interpolation. We have already shown that it has been tampered with in many places, and especially in those books which treat of the heresies. Who can say that the passage about Callistus is

not one of these interpolations?

Thirdly, admitting, further, that the story of Callistus has not been interpolated into the original narrative, but is really from the pen of the original author, whoever he may be, is it to be at once admitted without question, as a true and genuine history? Let any man read it carefully, and consider the tone and spirit which pervade it; let him weigh its coarseness and intemperance, the extravagance of its imputations, the recklessness with which it judges and condemns the most private motives; let him gather a few of the savoury epithets with which it abounds—its imputations of "villany" (p. 285), "fraud" (288), "swindling" (ibid), "craft" (284), "malicious ingenuity in evil" (ib.), "versatility in deceit" (290); let him hear the abuse which it heaps upon Callistus, "lawless" (291), "impious" (ibid), "a silly and shifting fellow" (289) "on the verge of blasphemy" (290), "a juggling trickster" (292), "a bishopric hunter" (284), "venom-hearted" (289), "wallowing in ordure" (279), "a cheat," "an impostor" (284), "a daring impostor" (290), "an impostor and villain" (289); let him study well the abundant evidence of bitter pervole. XXXIII.—No. LXVI.

sonal hostility, of wounded pride, of vindictiveness, of unforgiven collisions, and cherished memories of wrong, which forces itself upon notice in every line;-let any man do this calmly and dispassionately, and we defy him to accept its allegations without ample deductions and re-We all know how the alleged intemperance of St. Jerome against Vigilantius is used by Protestants, in order to undo the effect of his testimony in the case of that heretic; and we must say that there is more deep evidence of hatred and malice in one paragraph of this attack on Callistus than in the thirty pages of Jerome's vehement and clamorous, but yet honest and outspoken vituperation. We must say, too, that any man who would believe implicitly the report of one so evidently a partisan, and a partisan from personal feeling, must have a strange notion of the laws of historical evidence.

Fourthly, the article itself contains direct indications, not alone of the hand of a personal enemy of Callistus, but of a member of the Novatian schism, to which, for obvious reasons, Callistus would have been specially obnoxious.

(1) In the account given by this writer of the heretics whose doctrines were akin to those of the Novatians, there are traces of a sympathy with these opinions. M. Bunsen himself admits that the author's account of the Montanists is more favourable by far than that of Epiphanes.

(I. p. 111.)

(2) He omits altogether to notice the rigorous opinions of these sectaries which were afterwards adopted by Novatus and his party, but which, from the first, had been resisted by the authority of the Church. This omission is especially remarkable in one so conversant with the affairs of the Roman Church, where, from the time of Tertullian

onwards, this rigorist party had always existed.

(3) He himself fully adopts these rigid views as his own. One could almost fancy, in reading his chapter on Callistus, that it was a portion of Tertullian's De Pudicitia. The language of Tertullian, his arguments, his invectives against the Roman Pontiff,* his imputations,—as, for instance, the encouragement given to adultery, murder, abortion,† incest, &c.,—are exactly the same.

See chap. I. t. iv. p. 315.—[Halle edit.]
 † Ibid, chap. v. p. 324.

The writer (4) But there is still plainer evidence.

openly betrays his schismatical attitude.

A long and intemperate tirade against the alleged laxity of discipline introduced by Callistus, concludes with the following unmistakable passage: "Behold to what a pitch of impiety this lawless man has proceeded, teaching the lawfulness at once of adultery and of murder! And yet. in the midst of these daring attempts, they unblushingly pretend to call themselves the Catholic Church; and there are some who, thinking that they are acting well, run to

join them." (p. 291.)

Now we contend that the writer of these lines must. beyond all doubt, have been a Novatian. It has been said that the mild and indulgent discipline which is here made the great charge against Callistus, was the avowed ground of the Novatian schism. It is certain, too, that long before the time of Novatus, there was a controversy on the point in Rome. Tertullian's later writings. after he had joined the Montanist party, furnish, as we have said, abundant evidence of this; and his views on discipline are, in the main, the same as those of the present writer. These facts alone, therefore, would connect this writer with the Novatian party. But his sneer at "the Catholic Church" is enough itself to remove all The man who abuses the Catholic Church, ipso facto declares himself to be in schism.

Fifthly, granting that the writer of the work was named Hippolytus, and even that it was Hippolytus bishop of Portus, it by no means follows that this was Hippolytus the martyr. There are no less than three different personages of the name, between whose claims the learned

are divided.*

Sixthly, even if it were certain that the writer was St. Hippolytus the martyr, his authority would by no means be conclusive as to the truth of the story. On the contrary, perhaps this very circumstance ought rather to furnish special grounds of doubt and suspicion.

(1) We have already seen that Photius describes this very work of Hippolytus as containing certain errors. May

not this be one of the number?

^{*} See Rugger's Dissertation De Sede S. Hippolyti. In Lumper's Histor. Theol. Critica Patrum viii. 307. † Bibliotheca, p. 302.

(2) Nicephorus, the historian, expressly says, that "some of the writings of Hippolytus are not blameless," but that "by the martyrdom which he bore for the name of Christ, he wiped away and obliterated the stain of his ignorance." This general statement is open to the same conjecture.

(3) But we are not left to mere conjecture. We have other evidence earlier, and bearing more directly on this particular point. It is quite certain that St. Hippolytus, although a martyr for the name of Christ, was at one period of his life attached to the schism of Novatus, and actually renounced that schism as he was led to martyrdom. The whole history is given by Prudentius in his hymn, † "Passio Hippolyti Martyris: ad Valerianum Episcopum." We shall transcribe the passage, which is perfectly conclusive:—

"Invenio Hippolytum, qui quondam schisma Novati Presbyter attigerat, nostra sequenda negans, Usque ad martyrii provectum insigne, tulisse Lucida sanguinei præmia supplicii.
Cum jam vesano victor raperetur ab hoste, Exultante anima carnis ad exitium, Plebis amore suæ multis comitantibus ibat, Consultus quænam secta foret melior, Respondit: Fugite, O miscri execranda Novati Schismata: Catholicis reddite vos populis, Una fides vigeat prisco quæ condita templo est, Quam Paulus retinet, quamque cathedra Petri. Quæ docui, docuisse piget; venerabile martyr, Cerno, quod a cultu rebar abesse Dei.

Seque ducem recti, spretis anfractibus idem Præbuit, erroris qui prius auctor erat."‡

There is more to the same effect, but it is unnecessary to go farther. It is plain that Prudentius considered Hippolytus to have been a Novatian; insomuch, that some writers had even suspected (long before this work "Against all Heresies" was known, and before the discovery of the story of Callistus might be supposed to have furnished a motive for the conjecture) that Hippolytus may have been one of the three bishops who, according to Corne-

 ^{*} Lib. iv. cap. xxxi. p. 221.
 † Περι Στεφανων Hymn xi. Valpy edit. i. pp. 387—403.
 † Prudentii Carmina, i. 391-2.

lius,* were cajoled into imposing hands on Novatus.† This we think exceedingly unlikely, and, indeed, incredible. But, from the tone and sentiment of the work "Against All Heresies," it is impossible to doubt that, if Hippolytus be really the author, he was, at the time when the work was composed, a warm, and, we must add, an intemperate partisan of Novatus. That he had some especial cause for making reparation to "the chair of Peter," may be inferred from the words employed by Prudentius; and the conjecture will not be unnatural, that this personal insult to its occupant, Callistus, may have been the injury for which he seeks to atone.

So much, then, for the *positive* evidence in favour of the truth of the narrative. It is embarrassed, if not utterly neutralized, by manifold doubts and suspicions, as to the authorship of the work, as to the purity of the text, as to the trustworthiness of the writer, and even as to his special unreliableness on this particular subject.

This positive evidence, we may add, is entirely unsup-

On the other hand, it must be confessed that the evidence on the opposite side is all purely negative. But we cannot hesitate to say, nevertheless, that it quite outweighs the positive, but very questionable and suspicious, testimony of the Treatise against all Heresies. We shall not trouble ourselves about the personal gossip regarding the character of Callistus, and the antecedents of his life. All this might have been perfectly true, and yet Callistus might have afterwards proved a most holy, zealous, and

^{*} Constant. Epp. R. R. Pontiff, p. 147.

[†] See Constantine Rugger's Dissertation De Sede S. Hippolyti, cited above, p. 439.

[†] M. Bunsen cites Theodoret (De Hær. Fabulis, vol. iv. 242, Halle edit.), as connecting Callistus with the Noetian heresy; and a learned friend has directed our attention to two passages in Harduin's Concilia (i. 286, and ii, 942), in which it also occurs. Theodoret merely mentions the name of Callistus; and it is entirely beyond belief, that if he knew him to be the Roman Pontiff, he would not have said so. The first of the two passages in Harduin, is a decree of the confessedly spurious council of Rome under St. Sylvester. The second is the disputed decretal of Pope Gelasius. But the name of Callistus occurs only in some of the MSS. of this latter decree; and in others the name is written Calipsus, which in itself throws suspicion on the authority.

orthodox bishop. Although, therefore, the temper which it bespeaks, and the evident personal hostility which it evinces, would in themselves go far to deprive it of all credit, we shall not be at the pains of discussing this part of the question at all. Our sole concern is with Callistus's alleged lapse into heresy, and that after his elevation to the pontificate.

(1) First, then, we hold it to be simply incredible that a fact so momentous would have escaped the notice of the entire Church, and that we should not possess a single record of it beyond this very suspicious and questionable It must be recollected that, if our author's statement be true. Callistus's heretical teaching regarded a most vital point of doctrine; that it was "noised abroad throughout the entire world" (p. 292); that it was the subject of divisions and controversies in the Church (p. 285, and again, p. 289); that it was opposed by many, and among them by the writer himself (p. 285). Is it credible that such an event would have been passed over in total silence? have a tolerably precise account of the still earlier proceeding of the Roman bishops in the Paschal controversy. We have a full history of the Rebaptism controversy a few years later. Neither of these was to be compared in importance with that on the Trinity in which the alleged error of Callistus had its origin. And yet we are to suppose that the lapse of the Roman bishop, on so vital a subject, would have escaped unnoticed!

(2) There are special reasons why this should seem impossible as regards the particular heresy which is imputed to Callistus. It was not a new question at Rome. The point had already been fully considered, and in truth decided. The heresy of Praxeas, against which Tertullian wrote, and which Pope Victor condemned, is, in almost every respect, the same. Can it be believed that the reversal of this condemnation would not have been canvassed, not alone in Rome, but in every part of the Church? Would it not have been referred to in the subsequent controversies on the Sabellian doctrine in other parts of the Church? Above all, when Dionysius of Alexandria wrote to Pope Xystus* on the subject of Sabellius, who fell into the same, or nearly the same error, can it be believed that

^{*} See Eusebius Eccles. Histor. vii. c. 6, p. 250.

we would not find some allusion to the name of Callistus,

or the charge with which it was connected?

(3) Eusebius* gives a very minute account of the state of opinion in Rome, and of the controversies which arose there, on the great mystery of the Divinity of the Son, at the very period of which there is question. Further, he relates it in the words of an author whom he does not name, but who is believed by M. Bunsen to be no other than Hippolytus himself. He commences with the pontificate of Victor. under which he tells of the heresy of Artemon, and that of Theodotus the Currier. Then he proceeds to the pontificate of Zephyrinus, under which he describes that of Asclepiodotus and Theodotus the Banker. And here he stops. Now will any man believe that, if, within the next five years, an event had occurred of such importance as the appearance of not merely a new heresy, but a heresy introduced by the Bishop of Rome himself, Eusebius would have stopt short and failed to relate it?

(4) Hippolytus himself, in a genuine and unquestioned work, has written against the heresy of Noetus at much greater length than in the treatise "Against all Heresies." We allude to his Homily against Noetus. Now in this homily there is not a word about Callistus, or a single sentiment from which it can be inferred that he even alluded to him. This, we think, is a most decisive circumstance; especially when it is remembered that, in a homily delivered in the actual scene of the heresy, such personal allusions would almost necessarily arise; and particularly when the preacher was himself (as the writer of the Treatise against all Heresies declares himself to have been), in

actual collision with Callistus.

(5) Epiphanius, in compiling his history of heresies, had the work of Hippolytus before him, and used its materials. † Now Epiphanius never once alludes to the name of Callistus, whether as the founder of a distinct heresy, or as a disciple of Noetus. Moreover, while our author alleges that the heresy of Callistus became "notorious throughout the world," and that the Noetians were called, after his name, Callistians (p. 292), yet we can find no such allusion in Epiphanius, although he seems to have taken pains to ascertain, and to record every variety of denomination,

^{*} Ibid, p. 193-7. † Hær. xxxi. c. 33, tom. i. p. 205.

local or otherwise, by which the various sects have at any time been known. If any one will take the pains to read his introduction, he will find that scarcely a single sect appears without an alias, and that some have two, three,

and even four varieties of nomenclature.*

(5) It is hardly likely that if the fall of Callistus were known in the days of the re-baptizing controversy, it would have escaped the vigilance of Cyprian, or still more of Firmilian; and that in their anxiety to justify their resistance to the opinion of Stephen, they would have failed to urge so disgraceful a precedent of a false judgment on the part of Rome, as the imputed fall of Callistus. Will any man believe that its memory could have died in the short period of thirty years which intervened?

(6) Is it probable, again, that Photius would have over-He left no point unmoved in his antipathy to Roman pre-eminence. He had read the treatise, and even the portion of it where, if it be genuine, the story of Callistus is found. Could be possibly have overlooked it, if it existed in his copy, or if he did not disbelieve it as a fabri-

cation of the Novatians?

These are but a few of the improbabilities which we shall have to encounter if we hold ourselves bound to receive this single and unsupported testimony to the fall of Callistus, positive and circumstantial as it appears to be. M. Bunsen has shut his eyes to them altogether. But, for our own part, we confess that we are not able to withstand their united force. Negative as they are, we regard them as beyond all cavil, and we do not hesitate at once to reject, as the misrepresentation of an intemperate and angry partisan, or more probably as the fabrication of a subsequent interpolator, a charge which all the rest of antiquity has ignored.

We are the more strengthened in this view, because we feel convinced, after a very minute examination of the whole subject, and a careful consideration of the error imputed to Callistus, that even in the terms in which the opinion attributed to him is couched, it is susceptible of a perfectly sound and orthodox interpretation; and that, if there be an error at all, it is but in the terms, and not in the substance of the doctrine. It is admitted by the author. that Callistus rejected the doctrine of Sabellius as heterodox

^{*} See the Προσιμιον, passim. It is not paged.

(p. 289). It is also admitted that he rejected the Patripassian principle which is a consequence of Sabellianism (p. 289). It is also admitted that he maintained the distinctions of the persons of the Father and the Son, and that he "would not say that the Father was One Person with the Son" (Ibid). In some respects, it is true, if we take the statement of this writer as decisive, Callistus adopted language similar to that of Noetus, and appearing at first sight to imply the identity of persons which Noetus maintained, and to make the distinction between Father and Son consist merely in a diversity of name, and a diversity of manifestation. But, on a closer examination, it will appear that the identity of which he speaks is an identity of nature and not of person.

It is plain that what he guards against by this phraseology is not the multiplication of persons, but the multiplication of Gods. His charge against those with whom he was arguing, and against whom his theory was directed, was, not that they made two Divine Persons, but that they were "ditheists," or made two Gods. The object of his own theory was to maintain, that "the Father and the Son were not one Person, but one undivided Spirit;" that "the Father was not one Being and the Son another Being, but one and the same." This he sought to maintain conjointly with a distinct declaration that, although they were one and the same Being, yet they "were not one Person," [έν είναι πρόσώπον]. He was careful, too, to reject, in distinct terms, the great Shibboleth of Sabellianism—the Patri-passian principle. In two separate places the author is forced to admit that Callistus disclaimed this notion. "It was not the Father," he held, "who died, but the Son" (p. 285), and "he would not say that the Father suffered" (p. 289).

In order to render this explanation more intelligible, we shall transcribe the author's account of Callistus's doctrine, as it is translated by M. Bunsen.

[&]quot;The system of Callistus.—The same Logos is the Son, the same the Father, so called by name, but one undivided Spirit. The Father is not one being, the Son another, but one and the same: and all is full of the divine Spirit, the things above and the things below: and the Spirit that became flesh in the Virgin is not different from the Father, but one and the same. This is the meaning of the words: 'Dost thou not believe that I am in the Father, and the Father in me?' For what is seen, which is Man.

is the Son; but the Spirit that dwells in the Son is the Father: for I will not say there are two Gods, the Father and the Son, but One. The Father, who was in the Son, took flesh and made it God, uniting it to himself, and made it One. The Father and Son was therefore the name of One God; and this One person $(\pi \rho \dot{o} \sigma \omega \pi \sigma \nu)$ cannot be two: the Father consequently suffered with the Son."—Vol. i. pp. 115—116.

Now we certainly must complain that M. Bunsen has stopt short* in the extract at this precise point. Had he continued a single line further, he would have supplied, in the admission of the author, the answer to the actual charge which he seeks to substantiate in the very same sentence. "For," he continues, "HE [Callistus] WILL NOT SAY THAT THE FATHER SUFFERED AND IS ONE PERSON," [with the Son.] It is plain, therefore, that Callistus, especially as he rejected Sabellius from communion, and disavowed the Patri-passian theory, distinctly disclaimed the doctrine of a single Person, although in asserting the unity of nature in the distinct Persons, he may have used language which a captious and intemperate adversary might wrest into When he says, for example, that "the that meaning. Spirit which became flesh in the Virgin, is not different from the Father, but the same," he simply means that the Divine Nature in the Son is not a different Being [TVEV µa] from the Father. And when, still more loosely, he says that "the same Logos is the Son, the same the Father, different, indeed, in name, but one undivided Spirit;' his meaning is easily seen from the rest of the passage, merely to have been, that both the Father and the Son possess the same Divine Nature, and that he simply wishes to exclude the idea of two Gods, not of two persons in God; "he will not say there are Two Gods, the Father and the Son, but ONE."

That this was his meaning, we entertain not the slightest doubt. That in the heat of faction, and the bitterness of schism, language even less equivocal might be turned to a sinister meaning, is evidenced by the history of every such collision. And this will at once explain how it may have been, that, even supposing this article on Callistus to have been a genuine and a contemporary work, it may, notwithstanding, have escaped all notice, and may, from the

^{*} What is more remarkable, he stops short at a semicolon in the Greek text,

very moment of its appearance, have fallen into utter disregard; and thus have failed to leave even such a faint and passing trace in the history of the time, as did the similar unjust charges against the orthodoxy of Dionysius of Alexandria, or Tertullian's half-expressed insinuation

against the soundness of Victor or Zephyrinus.

Briefly, then, to sum up the entire issue. Even if the "startling revelations" about Callistus contained in this narrative, had really the effect of implicating the Pontiff in heresy, the narrative itself is proved to be of doubtful authorship, and still more doubtful integrity; it is contradicted by the whole tenor of history; irreconcilable with facts and circumstances which it is impossible to doubt; it bears all the appearance of a Novatian origin, and far more than the appearance of intemperance, vindictiveness, unscrupulousness, and exaggeration; and, last of all, when calmly and dispassionately sifted, the allegation of heresy turns out not only not to be substantiated even by the accuser's own representations, but actually to be satisfac-

torily and conclusively disproved thereby.

But we have already dwelt too long upon this point, to the exclusion, we feel, of much more that is full of interest in this curious publication. M. Bunsen's own share of the task—the work of reconstruction; which occupies the second, third, and fourth volumes of his book, we have been obliged to pass by altogether. It would be idle, indeed, within the compass of such an article as the present, to approach a task so varied and so comprehensive. But, even if space permitted us to enter on the subject, our objection to M. Bunsen's work lies more against the general plan than the details of the execution. The hypothesis on which it rests, viz., that the records of the early centuries are to supply materials for the reconstruction of the doctrinal, liturgical, and disciplinary system of primitive Christianity, is essentially faulty, and can only lead to visionary and unsubstantial theories. The literature of early Christianity is but a literature of scraps. Meagre and fragmentary as it is, it is almost all apologetical, and addressed to those "who are without." Hardly a single work of the first three centuries bears, even indirectly, upon the internal system and structure of the society of the Church; and the knowledge of such details can only be gathered conjecturally from vague and casual hints and allusions. If evidence were wanting of the truth of this

position it would be abundantly supplied by this very work "Against all Heresies," which M. Bunsen has chosen as the main basis of his reconstruction.

ART. VII.—History of Europe, from the fall of Napoleon, in 1815, to the accession of Louis Napoleon, 1852, by SIR ARCHIBALD ALISON, BART., vol. i. W. Blackwood and Son, Edinburgh and London, 1852.

PERIOD of thirty-seven years is included in the pro-L posed history, of which we have the first volume now before us. It commences with the fall of the great Napoleon, and terminates when his own, seemingly so wild, prophecy has been realised; and a member of his own family having, as he said of himself, "found the crown of France in a gutter," has placed it on his head. As the author has truly said, it is an important period in the world's history, which he has undertaken to chronicle; many social problems of deep importance to the welfare of mankind have been mooted; and from the universal activity of thought, and its quick communication, have arisen, not only great discoveries in the physical, but also in the moral world; while out of the very reaction from its restlessness, there seems to be springing up a desire for fixity and truth, which promises the happiest results. But to treat of such a period as this, requires far greater capacity than that of Sir Archibald Alison, and a mind of very different calibre. He excelled in relating the broad palpable facts by which it was preceded; his narrative of military operations is bold, graphic, generally faithful, and not wanting in a soldierly relish and instinct, which give it animation; but amongst theories and speculations, Alison is lost; his flight is too high and too wide for an historian; he has his cherished prophecies and predilections, antipathies, theories, and predictions, and has not the steady single-mindedness which could keep truth unblemished by their influence. In support of this opinion, we appeal to any candid reader of the opening chapter of the

volume, in which the author has set forth his own peculiar views at some length. Let us take a glance at them. Archibald Alison is a Tory of the old school; no one of them in days when Torvism was consistent, could have talked with greater coolness of "the Luxury of Dissent," (p. 352); more mourned over "Urban ambition," the "weakened influence of landed proprietors," the "selfish rapacity" of monied men, or the infatuation of giving to them so large a share of weight in the legislature. Yet in one sense money is to Sir Archibald an absolute idol, for he attributes to the fluctuations of the currency such an influence upon the destinies of mankind, as would go far to justify the

most determined pursuit of wealth.

From restriction of the currency, or the return to cash payments, Sir Archibald continually predicts the ruin of England; that her population shall be dispersed, her power broken up, her greatness no more discernible but as the seed of future empires: its more immediate results "The monetary bill of 1819, before he thus describes. many years had elapsed, added fifty per cent. to the value of money, and weight of debts and taxes, and took as much from the remuneration of industry. Hence a total change in the feelings, influences, and political relations The territorial aristocracy was weakened of society. as much as the commercial was aggrandised; small landed proprietors were generally ruined from the fall of prices; the magnates stood forth in increased lustre from the enhanced value of their revenues. Industry was querulous from long continued suffering; wealth ambitious from sudden exaltation. Political power was coveted in one class from the excess of its riches, in another from the excess of its misery." (p. 6.) Now we think that in these statements there is much that is erroneous, but we pass it by, not meaning to be drawn into a disquisition on political economy. This is one of the several leading ideas by which Sir Archibald's mind is influenced, often unduly, often even in contradictory directions. "The contraction of the monetary circulation," he says, "has produced the grievous and long-continued distress," from which we have been suffering ever since the peace. From this cause the distress felt in America has been such, that it has "exceeded anything recorded in history!" Our own "long period of peace has been nothing but a protracted one of suffering, interrupted only by

fitful and transient gleams of prosperity;" and in France "the condition of the working classes, and the ceaseless exactions made from them by the monied, have been so incessant, that they were the main cause of the revolution of 1830, and have produced that tendency to Socialist and Communist doctrines, which has taken such deep root in that country." (p. 33.) Now setting aside the question whether these assertions are not overstrained in fact, and false in theory, we call particular attention to the last, because elsewhere, when it happens to suit Sir Archibald to follow up another of his theories, he declares the people of France at that time to have been "daily increasing in wealth, freedom, and material well-being, while it was daily declining in contentment, loyalty, and happiness!" (p. 5.) But then these strange people were to be represented as victims of "l'imagination qui domine le monde," "requiring aliment to their passions," and unable to endure peace, so that "no monarch who does so (i.e. who keeps at peace,) will long remain on the French throne." The same influence is ascribed to the "currency question," at all periods of the world, "The resurrection of mankind from ruin" was brought about, and "the rights of man established," by the discovery of the mines in Mexico. The people after the wars following the French revolution, had sunk into such misery, that "relief or emancipation from evil seemed alike out of the question, (p. 37.) when California was discovered, "and the face of the world was changed." It is, we think, a climax to this philosophy, when the author tells us that "the fall of the Roman empire, so long ascribed, in ignorance, to slavery, heathenism, and moral corruption, was in reality brought about by a decline in the gold and silver mines of Spain and Greece!" (p. 31.) A man must be wedded indeed to his own fancies, when he can thus coolly set aside Scripture, history, and the internal consciousness of the heart of man, and say of Rome, steeped in iniquity as we know her to have been at that time, enervated by all conceivable crime, and drunk with the blood of the martyrs, that she fell through a blunder in political economy! Another of the fixed ideas which Sir Archibald pursues with equal tenacity, is that of the ineradicable difference of race. We greatly dislike the pertinacity with which this idea has of late years been taken up; we suspect it to have the same tendency to materialism, as phrenology, mesmerism, and other speculations of the day; a tendency to overlook the value of the human soul and to over-estimate the importance of the accidents by which she is encumbered; but we know it to be a cloak for self-esteem and injustice; a frequent plea for insolence and rapine; a converting of the thankfulness due for God's blessings, into self-laudation of our own powers. Let us not be understood to deny all foundation of truth or argument to this theory; we object to its excess; and for the lengths to which it may be carried, let us quote our historian. After telling us that "everything announces that Japhet will one day dwell in the tents of Shem, but unquestionably Shem will never dwell in the tents of Japhet," (p. 66,) he goes on coolly to appropriate not only the blessings of this world, but even of Christianity. "Experience," he says, "gives little countenance to the belief that the race of Shem and Ham can be made to any considerable extent, at least at present, to embrace the tenets of a spiritual faith," (p. 72,) and proceeds to give the sanction of his authority to the arrangements of Providence, in a style that would have astonished St. Austin, St. Patrick, and other less enlightened Chris-"If Christianity had been adapted to man in his rude and primeval state, it would have been revealed at an earlier period; it would have appeared in the age of Moses, not in that of Cæsar." (p 73.) As these assertions require some support, our author proceeds to make light of all recent conversions. "Great efforts," he says. "have been made, but nothing decisive done; the conversion of a few tribes merely nominal." "Christianity in the East, not the Christianity of Europe, paganism in another form, the substitution of the worship of the Virgin and images, for that of Jupiter and the heathen deities,' (p. 72, &c., &c.) Catholics have heard such things as these before, and will not receive them quite implicitly. After all, why should Sir Archibald have troubled himself to investigate the subject? The result of such enquiry might have hampered his theory; and the few millions of souls scattered over the face of this wide world, who may have embraced the faith of Christ, and lived and died in it, yea, perhaps for it, were not, we suppose, sons of Japhet, nor yet, we fear, possessors of any tents worth mentioning, in a political point of view. But of the sons of Japhet thus possessed of this world and the next, there

is nevertheless an heir apparent; the Anglo-Saxon loses in Sir Archibald's hands none of the glories with which he has lately crowned himself; and under cover of his bigotry in religion, and of this his special predilection of race, the profound philosopher and historian will venture upon sneers as petty and as virulent as ever smartened up the pages of a pamphleteer. What does Sir Archibald mean when he says, "The emancipation of the Roman Catholics severed the last bond, that of common religion, which had hitherto held together the different classes; and imprinted on the minds of a large and sincere class, a thirst for vengeance which overwhelmed every consideration of reason?" (p. 6.) Let our reader analyse this sentence; let him take in the full measure of petulant bigotry contained in the first part of it, and ask himself what charge is contained in the second. Was it the Catholics who were seized with a thirst for vengeance upon their emancipation (!!) or was it their opponents? And what act showing a "desire for vengeance overwhelming every consideration of reason," does the author dare to charge upon either party? France is just now a licensed topic of abuse and insolent compassion; and we might pardon this, in a newspaper which by turns influences and is influenced by the popular passion of the moment; but the historian descends to a level with such writers, when he speaks of "that ever changing country." (p. 21.) No history exhibits greater fixity of purpose as to government and institutions, or fewer changes of a radical and subversive nature, than that of France from its earliest period until that of the first great revolution. After that hurricane had passed, France clung with desperate fidelity to the glorious chief of her own choice, when he was wrested from the exhaustion—not of her attachment, but of her strength; she endured with patience during two successive periods of fifteen and eighteen years, two dynasties, (we should rather say, two families of the same dynasty,) of which the first was imposed on her by conquerors, and the second was faithless to the very conditions of its power, and by both of which she was misgoverned. After long trial of bad systems of election, unmanageable Chambers of Deputies, and other institutions, which our author with great pains demonstrates to have been illusory and oppressive, she has shaken off these families, to return after a brief interval,—brief in the history of nations,—to the lawful

heir of her own first choice, and to an approximation to her ancient form of Government. We confess her defi-ciency in "representative institutions;" these are a boon reserved exclusively for Anglo-Saxons. "The Celt could not enjoy them," says Sir Archibald, nor even participate in them, either in England or America. To the Anglo-Saxons of these two nations—the Crême de la Crême—belongs the exclusive privilege. Truly if we took Alison's opinion (which we are very far indeed from doing,) we should not consider their affection for these institutions as a proof of their wisdom! He admits, indeed, that for one short and blissful period, when we were ruled by "an aristocracy of land and commercial wealth, controlled by an energetic commonalty, such as obtained under the old constitution of Great Britain, &c., &c." (p. 55.) our government was perfection; but perfection was never durable; and of our own Parliament since then, and of that of America, at every period of its existence, Sir Archibald gives so vile a character, foretelling from them so much mischief, and attributing to them so much vice, that we can hardly follow him to his conclusion, that they are monuments of wisdom, a standing evidence of the "right divine" of the Anglo-Saxon. We have a genuine English veneration for a free representative form of government, and for the wide diffusion of political power which it promotes. political power is not identical with personal freedom: and it should not be lost sight of, that whereas the one is essential to the dignity and happiness of man, the other is not. Neither do they always exist together; the liberty of individual will and action; nay, more, the power of repelling grievances, and acting upon the government, as an energetic and universal will must ever act, may be enjoyed by large populations who have not the power of voting for a member of Parliament, and even while living under institu tions oppressive enough to such as come into direct contact or open hostility with them. We believe that the Spanish peasant is in this sense a freer man than the English mechanic, oppressed as the latter is in turns by his master, by his fellow-workmen, by the parish overseer, and always, alas! by the tax gatherer; we are sure he is far better off than the Irish labourer, who, living under these "representative institutions," has been so ground down, so subjected by their cruel legislation, to the possessors (for the most part another precious boon

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originally sent to him by England,) of the "rights of property," that he is driven to regain his own rights of property, religious liberty, and free will, by escaping from

them and from his native land together.

Those sacred rights of property, of free action, aye, and of religious liberty, we believe have been, and will again be, enjoyed by most of the nations of continental Europe; and when they are so, we shall not think the people of those lands deficient in moral dignity, or entitled to our gibing pity, though they should never hear an electioneering speech, or turn an honest penny by their votes. But the appreciation of such a truth as this could not be expected from Sir Archibald; he is quick indeed, in recognising power, and temporal greatness under whatever aspect they assume, from the colonising millions of the Anglo-Saxon, to the serf armies of the Muscovite; perhaps he is even too visionary in foretelling their future direction and development; but happiness and goodness he cannot conceive, except under the forms with which his prejudice has associated them. If those prejudices are strong against the Catholic and the Frenchman, what must they be against the Celt? Let the reader mark our author's allusion to Smith O'Brien's outbreak, and judge what degree of historical fairness and accuracy would be consistent with such a state of feeling: "Rebellion, as usual, when England is in distress, broke out in Ireland; but it terminated in ridicule, and revealed at once the ingratitude and the impotence of the Celtic race in the Emerald Isle." (p. 19.) Sir Archibald knows as well as we could tell him, that the power or the feelings of the Irish nation could not be revealed, or even brought into question, by the bravado of a half crazy democrat, of whom the government made a jest and a puppet, as completely as when they had him in the coal cellar of the House of Commons, and whom they quashed (when he had served their purpose,) by the help of a dozen or so of policemen; yet our author had not the good sense, nor even the taste, to suppress the stale taunt which the newspapers themselves could not carry beyond the first ebullition of party triumph.

It would be foreign to our purpose to controvert, or even to discuss Sir Archibald's opinions upon political economy; they have received the full attention of the public; the most powerful intellects of the age have been brought to

bear upon the subjects of them, and have in general condemned the views taken of them by Alison. Posterity will decide upon the long vexed questions of the currency, free trade, and the extension and basis of the suffrage; Sir Archibald has the merit of having given an impartial and lucid summary of the arguments on either side of these important questions. The simple narrative of events occupies a smaller portion of this work than would seem to belong to it; it is often brilliant, accurate in general, but sketchy, and frequently unfaithful, from serious omissions. For instance, the detention of Napoleon at St. Helena is dismissed with these few words: "But it must always be a matter of regret to every generous mind in Britain, that the conduct of so great a man in breaking his engagements, had been such as to render his detention a matter of absolute necessity, and of gratification to every British subject, that necessary as that detention was, it excited so strong a feeling of commiseration and regret in the breasts of a large portion of the English people." (p. 128.) Now it was not merely the detention of Napoleon which excited commiseration amongst ourselves, and a far bitterer feeling amongst our neighbours; it was the mean, niggardly, harassing, and needless cruelty of the circumstances which accompanied that detention, which, as a wound upon our national honour, required at least an ample notice, and, we should have said, some abatement of the customary tone of self-laudation.

Again, in speaking of Ireland, Alison says, after dismissing in few words the fact of the consolidation of the exchequers of the two nations, "Such has ever been the improvidence and want of industry of its inhabitants, that although possessing triple the population, and more than triple the arable acres of Scotland, Ireland has never paid its own expenses, while Scotland has yielded for half a century above five millions a-year of clear surplus to the imperial treasury; and in the great famine of 1846, while Ireland received £8,000,000 from the British exchequer, Scotland, a great part of which had suffered just as much, got nothing." (p. 127.) The latter part of this sentence we dispute altogether. Scotland, greatly the richer country, did not suffer so much as Ireland; and except indeed in

the Highland districts, she did not suffer at all.

But it would be beyond our present limits to enter into

these questions; we are not, indeed, now considering them, but the character of the historian, whose duty it is to hold an even balance between the contending parties in our national disputes. In this character we must take leave to remind the author that there are two sides even of this Irish question; that the Irish themselves have alleged, that Scotland was joined to England by a friendly treaty, when she had attained such a degree of national and equal strength as enabled her to take excellent care of her own rights; whereas Ireland, conquered in the days of her barbarism and disunion, was ever prevented by the jealousy, the fanaticism, and the cupidity of the stronger nation, from acquiring the needful vantage ground for such a struggle; that from this fact ensued grievous disadvantages, which no people could bear up under; heavy restrictions upon their trade and manufactures; penal laws crushing down the bone and sinews of the nation; the partitioning the land amongst men whom England first sent over, and then maintained in possession by arms as well as laws; and whose fitness to fulfil the duties and hold the rights of such a station, has since been made manifest in the astounding disclosures of the Encumbered Estates Court:—and that in addition to all this, the people, already in possession of an established national religion, had imposed on them the burden of supporting a tribe of the richest and most irritating sinecurists that the world has ever seen.

In his hasty notice of the question of the English and Irish Exchequers, our author has omitted any mention of the well-founded complaints of Ireland on this subject. He must know that it has been argued on her behalf, that at the period of the union the national debt of England was nearly sixteen times as large as that of Ireland; and that it was the difficulty of making immediate provision for the amount which was due to Ireland, upon a fair apportionment of their respective debts, which occasioned the postponement of the consolidation of the two exchequers. For the parallel case of Scotland, in order to compensate for the inequality of debt, that country received an immediate payment of £398,000 in cash; which doubtless had a tendency to diminish the unpopularity of her Our author must also have been fully aware that Ireland has always complained that there was an original injustice in the proportionate payments

adjudged to the two nations, and that the "consolidation" of 1816 was forced on, in order to avoid that "period of revision" which was promised by treaty, at the end of twenty years, avowedly to meet the possibility of error,

in fixing the liabilities of Ireland.

As all these things have been said, are said, and ever will be repeated by about a third of the inhabitants of the united kingdom, they were surely worth the notice, at least, of the historian of Great Britain! aye, even at the risk of spoiling one of those "summings up" in which Alison so greatly delights, and which are smooth, effective, and one-sided enough even for a jury! the tribunal which our author appears to hold in the utmost contempt.

We have now said enough to show the style and the spirit of this history; Sir Archibald will not trouble himself about our criticism, nor will he need to do so; the book will for a time be vastly popular; it is pleasant reading, recalling to our recollection the events which excited our youth; and it falls cleverly in with every popular passion of the day; but judging by the present volume, it never will be a standard work, or take its place beside

its really valuable predecessor.

We should not do justice to the author's plan, if we did not allude to the chapter he has devoted to the great names of the period, to each of which he has attached a short critical notice. In his opinions of literary men, he has generally recorded the public voice upon their merits or demerits; he has unpardonably omitted all mention of Bulwer's splendid poem, and has, in our opinion, much under estimated the genius of Byron; and his lengthy mention of some minor stars makes his omission of others appear unjust. Perhaps this was hardly to be avoided; and, in general, his judgment upon literature, if not striking or original, is at least sound. But, in the arts, it fails him entirely, ludicrously! What shall be said of a notice of the most eminent painters, which omits entirely the names of Herbert, Stanfield, Maclise, Leslie, Roberts, Danby, Creswick, Lee, Eastlake, Prout, Constable, and others illustrious in the different branches of the art; and which, amongst sculptors, overlooks Baillie, Gibson, and Macdouall? No architect is mentioned, architecture disposed of in a dozen lines, and no notice taken of the wonderful decrease in musical talent, which, as much as anything of the kind, is characteristic of the age. These

omissions become more unaccountable because the author has prosily recorded the ephemeral fame of a few favourite actors.

ART. VIII.—Lettres et Opuscules inédits du Comte Joseph de Maistre, Précédés d'une Notice Biographique. Par son Fils, Le Comte Rodolphe de Maistre. 2 vols. Paris, 1851.

HEAVY debt did the French nobility of the eighteenth century incur to God and to man. The orgies of the Regency, the frivolity, the licentiousness, the cynical implety which characterized the long reign of Lewis XV., were in a great degree the work of the nobility, or of that portion, at least, which inhabited the capital, and was influential at court. They set the example of that libertinism which was to corrupt the middle classes; they fostered by their writings or their patronage that irreligion. which, together with all order, was to undermine their own political and social existence. The grievous penalty for this treason to God, to society, and to their own order, was in the bloody and anarchic revolution of 1789, paid by their sons, and, for the most part, by the untainted members of their class. When by exile, by confiscation, by imprisonment, and by death, in the battle-field or on the scaffold. amid the massacres of Lyons, and the drownings of Nantes, this aristocracy had made atonement for the sins of its fathers, it was then called to take part in the work of reparation. In the bosom of this emigrant nobility, which, as a body, edified Europe by its virtues and its Christian patience and resignation under the severest misfortunes. Divine Providence was pleased to raise up three eminent men to defend the cause of persecuted religion and outraged order. One, the illustrious individual whose now published correspondence stands at the head of our article, was a native of Savoy, a country closely connected with France by the bonds of language, manners, and religion, and which during the whole course of the revolution, shared the same political destinies: the second, the

Viscount de Bonald, was born in the province of Auvergne; and the third, the Viscount de Chateaubriand, in that of Brittany.

In force of reasoning and in depth of thought, Chateaubriand cannot for a moment sustain a comparison with the other two illustrious philosophers we have named; yet still he was great in his own sphere, and has rendered imperishable services to religion and letters. When, in his glowing language, he describes the touching and august ceremonies of our Church; when he leads us to the royal cemetery of St. Dénis, or in the chapel of Versailles, brings before us the majestic figure of Bossuet; when he traverses the vast savannahs of America, and bids us listen to the wild mysterious rustling of her primeval forests: when he conducts us through the silent lugubrious streets of the deicide city, and mourns over the eternal desolation of her temple; when he takes us to the Dead Sea's shore, and amid the cloudless lustre and thrilling magnificence of an eastern night, makes us list

"To the wand'ring Arab's tale;"

when he chants the funeral song over heroic but fallen La Vendée, or intones the triumphal hymn over the guillotined martyrs of the Church of France, he is ever the brilliant, the fascinating, the instructive writer. Religion, royalty, and freedom, were the noble themes to which he consecrated his genius; and if at times led astray by pleasure or ambition, yet the light of faith and the instinct of honour never deserted him in his long career, while his closing years were cheered and sanctified by the most fervent piety. Taking an active part in some of the most memorable scenes which history records, and passing through the most trying vicissitudes of fortune, he showed himself as generous in prosperity as he had been firm and courageous in adversity; and as he had been "cradled in sorrow, and nurtured in convulsion," so he was destined to perish amid the horror of civil broils."

^{*} In his latter days he had a domestic chapel, which he frequently repaired to, and was a generous contributor to the hospital of St. Therese, which his excellent consort had founded. He used latterly to say, "Christ is my King." He who had toiled, and fought, and spoken and written so long and so well for human royalty, found in old age a refuge in that Divine Royalty, which is

His friend and colleague, M. de Bonald, was a spirit of another and far superior stamp. Endowed with a wonderful perspicacity of reasoning, solidity of judgment, and depth of observation, grave and dignified in his eloquence, yet easy and graceful withal, this great Christian writer devoted his genius to the solution of the most important problems of metaphysical and political philosophy. glory of God and the dignity of man he vindicated by proving the divine origin of language; while the doctrines of the spirituality and immortality of the soul found in him an original, as well as eloquent advocate. And as in philosophy he crushed materialism, so in politics he overturned the despotic and anarchic theories of the revolu-The fountain of civil legislation he traced to the throne of the Godhead, and pointed out with admirable skill the secret relations between religious, domestic, and political society. But as we observed on a former occasion, this eminent publicist is more skilful in refuting revolutionary principles, than in setting forth in all their completeness the doctrines of political Conservatism. This great man trusted too much to the resources of his genius, and neither his historical nor theological acquirements were equal to the exigencies of the times, or to the important mission he had to accomplish. It is much to be regretted, indeed, that one gifted with a political sagacity so rare in his country, should, from this deficiency of knowledge, have been at times betrayed into exaggerated views, and should have been unjust to the institutions of other ages and countries. Not only did he fail to recognize the many excellences which distinguish the British constitution, but he misapprehended the civil polity of the middle age. His type of excellence was the absolute royalty of Lewis XIV., which was precisely the degeneracy from that temperate monarchy that had insured to mediæval Europe so high a degree of prosperity and glory, stability, and freedom. Yet he loathed tyranny, and sought in the Church and in municipal institutions for a counterpoise to royal power. This was far wiser than the contrary course pursued by the modern constitutionalists, who, on the

impervious to ingratitude, and inaccessible to the shocks of fortune. He departed this life in the dreadful days of June, 1848, and the cannonade of the army and the socialist insurgents disturbed his last moments.

basis of administrative centralization, found, under the illusive semblance of three equally balanced powers, a democracy more or less limited. Still, as all history proves, municipal institutions, unless supported by well-organized political assemblies, where all orders of the state are represented, are but a feeble barrier against the encroachments of regal absolutism. On the whole, however, M. de Bonald ranks higher, as a metaphysician, than as a publicist.

A tone of exquisite politeness and serene dignity, extraordinary in one who lived in such tempestuous times, and was so violently assailed by revolutionary passions, runs through all the writings of this great man. And as his long public career was distinguished for loyalty, patriotism, and undeviating integrity and honour, so his private life was adorned by fervent piety and every Christian virtue. Having confined himself chiefly to metaphysical

and political enquiries, his circle of readers is more contracted than that of Count de Maistre; yet all who wish to see exalted genius in the service of Catholic philosophy, should not fail to study his writings.*

Associated with M. de Bonald by the ties of friendship. and a fellowship of the same principles, and in many respects bearing to him a remarkable intellectual affinity, the illustrious individual whose life we are about to sketch, while he equalled his friend in solidity of judgment and vigour of ratiocination, surpassed him in brilliancy of wit, fervour of eloquence, depth of understanding, and the teeming variety of his perceptions, as well as in extent of learning. Under the sallies of a playful humour, a pungent epigram, or a startling paradox, he will often conceal the most profound philosophy; but from the misrepresentations which he has been sometimes exposed to, these qualities, it would seem, remain at times unperceived of superficial readers. Theology, metaphysics, history, and politics, are the subjects to which he devoted his great intellect; and in all these he has won laurels, which place him by the side of the greatest thinkers and writers that

^{*} Except in the pages of this journal, and in those of the learned and eloquent Digby, M. de Bonald is never quoted by English writers. Even the distinguished Oxford converts, with whom Count de Maistre is so great a favourite, never make even a passing allusion to his illustrious friend.

have ever adorned Christianity. In his "Reflections on the French Revolution," he copes with the genius of Burke; in his "Du Pape," he vanquishes on an important question of theology the great Bossuet, while he throws out historical views, that would do honour to a F. Schlegel and a Görres; and in his metaphysical dialogues he rivals Malébranche. His style, flexible and varied, adapts itself to every theme on which he may be engaged. now running on in the tone of lively elegant conversation. now rising to the loftiest strains of eloquence.

Like M. de Chateaubriand, and M. de Bonald, the Count de Maistre was a victim of the great French Revolution of 1789, which despoiled him of his property. banished him from the land of his birth, and tore him from the sweet companionship of friends and kindred. and the fond embraces of wife and children. Playing no unimportant part on the stage of diplomacy, he mingled with the great public characters, and came in contact, if we may so speak, with the mighty events of his agitated times; yet, withal, possessed sufficient leisure to devote to study and contemplation. Thus he enjoyed at once the advantages of active and of studious life. Had he, for instance, taken to the academic career, he might perhaps have laid up a larger store of theological and historical learning, than fell even to his share; yet would this mass of knowledge, on the other hand, have been wanting in that freshness, vigour, and vivacity of intuition, which intercourse with the world, and a large experience of political life furnish. For such experience, useful as it is, to the publicist, is of value to the speculative thinker also. So thought at least, an eminent Catholic philosopher of our times—the late lamented Professor Windischmann, of Bonn.*

The private life of Count de Maistre was in perfect keeping with his public. Exemplary in the discharge of all his duties as husband, parent, friend, and citizen, he was distinguished for his uprightness--his high sense of honour-his tenderness of feeling-his constancy and resignation under misfortune—his unpretending simplicity of character—his lively faith and ardent piety. But we must

^{*} See the very interesting annotations he appended to the German translation of the "Soirées de St. Petersbourg," by his son-inlaw, Dr. Lieber. Bonn, 1830.

not anticipate what his correspondence will so clearly unfold to the reader.

As we proceed, however, to give a sketch of his biography, we are sadly reminded of another great Catholic writer, once the pride and ornament of the Church, and the worthy compeer of those, whose names have just been brought forward; but who, alas, by an unhappy apostasy, has tarnished the glory of his youth and manhood, and blighted the laurels that adorned his As the emigrant Nobility of France and Savoy had brought forth three great writers, who by their devotion to the cause of Religion and social order, made glorious atonement for the sins of their class in the preceding century; so out of the bosom of that French Church, which, after a long decline had, during the horrors of the Revolution, given birth to such a glorious host of confessors and martyrs, an illustrious doctor now came forth, worthy to take his place beside the intellectual giants of the age of Louis XIV. Born at St. Malo, in a house contiguous to that, where twenty years before Chateaubriand had seen the light, the Abbé de la Mennais was destined to set forth the hidden vital forces, and internal organization of that Church, whose external beauty, and social, literary, and artistic influences had been so admirably described by his fellow-townsman, the author of the "Génie du Christianisme."

Remarkable for the energy of character, and tenacity of purpose so peculiar to the Bréton, M. de la Menuais was gifted with a splendour of imagination, a glow of eloquence, and a vigour of reasoning, not surpassed, and, indeed, scarcely equalled by any of his great contemporaries. Inferior to M. de Bonald in steadiness and sobriety of judgment, he equalled him in dialectic perspicacity, and outshone him in extent of learning, and in force and flexibility of style; yet, with the more fertile, versatile, and intuitive intellect of Count de Maistre, his essentially analytic mind was unable to compete. His style, nervous, condensed, has at times the compressed indignation of a Tacitus; at others, the depth of sadness, which

characterizes Pascal.*

^{*} A distinguished critic, the Baron d'Eckstein, said long ago of the Abbé de la Mennais, "he had more elevation than Pascal, but less depth;" and this is true in the sense, that he possessed a loftier

Before his sad fall—the most melancholy perhaps in the annals of the Church, since that of Tertullian—he had rescued many a soul from Protestantism and infidelity; struck with Count Maistre a blow at Gallicanism. from which it has never since rallied; taught many a sound lesson to political Liberalism; edified the Church by some excellent spiritual works, as well as by his practical zeal, virtues, and charity; and contributed much to promote the moral and intellectual culture of the younger members of the priesthood. This unhappy man has been his own enemy; he has himself mutilated and defaced the statue, which in the gallery of her great Christian writers his country had erected to his honour; but the niche he has left vacant has been filled up by a group of most distinguished men, whom he either formed, or who received an impetus from his genius—we mean those living ornaments of religion and letters, the Abbé Gerbet, the Père Lacordaire, and the Count de Montalembert.

But it is now time to give a sketch of our author's life, which will be followed by a review of his correspondence.

Count Joseph Marie de Maistre was born at Chambéry, the capital of Savoy, in 1754. His father, Count Francis Xavier de Maistre, was President of the Senate of Savoy, and discharged with such wisdom and probity his high judicial functions, that his death was regarded by the

eloquence than even the solitary of Port-Royal, but was gifted with a less penetrative understanding. There are moments, however, when he strikingly reminds us of Pascal. Take for example one of his early "Thoughts," which we translate from memory. "Revo-" says he, "sadden the temper of nations. This was observed in England after the Grand Rebellion, and in France since the revolution. Those great changes which convulse society, lay open the depths of the human heart; and that is an abyss which we can never look into without sorrow and dismay." ["Pensées par Abbé de la Mennais." Paris, 1820.] Had he published his system of metaphysics before his unhappy fall, his reputation as a philosopher would have stood much higher. But the "Esquisse d'une Philosophie," which appeared at Paris in 1841, is but a very mutilated and disfigured transcript of a work, written in his Catholic period, and from which he has struck out the finest passages, and so altered the whole, that in one page he speaks as a Catholic, and in another as a Pantheist. This is attested by those who had seen the MS. in its original form.

king as well as his fellow-magistrates, as a public calamity. He had ten children, five girls and five boys, the eldest of whom was the subject of this biography. While three of his sons followed the profession of arms, and one entered holy orders, the eldest, Count Joseph, was brought up to the law. The latter, educated by the Jesuits, for whom through life he entertained the warmest affection and gratitude, early evinced a marked predilec-

tion for study.

One of the principal traits in his childhood, and which we love to find in one who was destined to be so powerful an advocate of authority in Church and State, was his affectionate obedience to his parents. It is recorded of him, that when the hour of recreation was near its term, his father had but to appear on the steps of the garden gate, and immediately would young Joseph discontinue his sport, let the ball or the kite drop from his hand, and hasten to his parent. During all the time the young Count passed at Turin, to follow his legal studies at the university of that capital, he would never read a book, without first writing to his father or mother to obtain their leave. His mother, who was a very superior woman, exerted the most salutary influence over the mind and dispositions of her son. Nothing could exceed the love and veneration which the Count de Maistre entertained for his mother. He used to say, "My mother was an angel, to whom the Almighty had lent a body; my happiness was to divine her wishes, and I was in her hands quite like the youngest of my sisters." He was nine years old when in 1763 the Parliament of Paris issued its fatal edict against the Jesuits; and as he was playing rather too boisterously in his mother's room, she said to him: "Joseph, be not so merry, a great calamity has hap-The solemn tone in which she uttered these words, produced such an impression on her son, that he remembered them to the close of his life.

Thus did this illustrious man, whose life we are sketching, enjoy from infancy every advantage that could best promote his moral training and intellectual culture. He was born in a country, which then, and even to this day, has preserved the purity and simplicity of ancient manners, and a remarkable attachment to the Catholic faith. Like many other men of virtue and genius, he was formed to piety and knowledge by the watchful care of a most exem-

plary mother. He was then intrusted to the hands of a body of teachers, who have never been surpassed for their skill in imbuing youth with sentiments of piety, exciting in them a love for study, filling, but not overloading their minds with liberal acquirements, and thus qualifying them for the graver studies of the university, and the laborious occupations of professional life. On leaving the college of the Jesuits, our young Count, as we have seen, took to the study of jurisprudence, which, though incapable like philosophy and history, of enlarging and liberalizing the mind, imparts to it, nevertheless, a singular clearness and precision. The more liberal studies and pursuits, however, he had full opportunity of following, not only at the university, but later, in the leisure hours, which the exercise of his judicial functions left him.

Count de Maistre went through the successive grades of the magistracy. The first occasion on which he displayed his great abilities, and laid the foundations of his literary fame, was a speech which he delivered, while substitute of the Attorney General, on the External Character of the Magistrate. In 1786 he married Mlle. de Morand, by whom he had a son, Count Rodolf, (who followed the profession of arms, and succeeded to his title,) as well as two daughters, Adèle, who married M. Terray, and Constance, who married the Duke Laval de Montmorency.

He was living at Chambéry, quietly engaged in his professional labours, and seeking relaxation only in literary puruits, when the great Revolution of 1789 broke out.

M. de Maistre was ever the advocate for those just and necessary liberties, which, as his son truly observes, prevent nations from coveting a false and guilty freedom. From the outset to the close of his long career, he was, as we shall have later occasion to show, distinguished for a noble liberality of political sentiment—the very converse of that odious liberalism, which is the sure precursor of Revolution, and the insidious foe of all liberty, as well as all order. Yet in this period of revolutionary ferment, when all parties, even the defenders of order, were prone to push their principles to extremes, the enlightened moderation of Count de Maistre was misconstrued; and he was denounced at Court as inclined to dangerous political innovations. He was member of the Reformed Lodge of Chambéry—a lodge perfectly insignificant.

Yet, as the revolution began to unfold its destructive energy in France, and to disturb the peace of neighbouring countries, the members of the club met together, and judging that any associations at that period might become dangerous, and disquiet the government, they deputed M. de Maistre to give to the king their solemn assurance that their meetings should be discontinued, and the lodge was

accordingly dissolved.

The French Republicans now invaded Savoy; M. de Maistre's brothers repaired to their regiments, and he himself with wife and children, departed for the city of Aoste, in the winter of 1793. Then appeared the socalled Law of the Allobroges, which without distinction of age and sex, and under the usual penalty of confiscation of all goods, enjoined the emigrants to return to Savoy, before the 25th of January. Madame de Maistre was then in the ninth month of her pregnancy. She well knew her husband's political views and sentiments, and that he would incur any risk, rather than expose her to danger in that country and in that season of the year. Urged by the hope of saving some remnants of her fortune by putting in her claims, she seized the opportunity of her husband's absence on a visit to Turin, and leaving Aoste without giving him any notice, traversed the route of the Great St. Bernard on a mule, accompanied by her two little children, who were carried wrapped up in blankets. Count de Maistre on his return to the city of Aoste, two or three days afterwards, hastened without delay to overtake his courageous wife, fearing he would find her either dead or dving in some miserable Alpine hut. He found her, happily, safely arrived at Chambéry. He was obliged to present himself at the Municipality, but he refused to take any oath to the new Order of things, or even make a promise to that effect. On the Syndic of the city presenting him the great book, wherein the names of all the active citizens were inscribed, he refused to write his name; and when the voluntary contribution paid for the war expenses was demanded of him, he frankly replied, "I will not give money for slaying my brothers, who serve the King of Soon did the revolutionary authorities order a domiciliary visit at his house; fifteen armed soldiers entered his apartment, uttering violent menaces accompanied with oaths and imprecations. Madame de Maistre, much alarmed, rushed into the room, and her terror brought on

the pains of travail, when after an alarming labour, she gave birth to a daughter, whom the father was destined never to know till the year 1814. After the accouchement of his wife, the Count having taken every measure he could under the circumstances possibly devise for insuring the safety of his family, abandoned his estates and country, and repaired to Lausanne, where he was soon charged with a confidential mission by the King of Sardinia. The object of this mission was to obtain from the Swiss authorities protection for the Sardinian subjects, who took refuge in Switzerland, or passed through it in order to enlist in the Royal army of Piedmont.

The Countess de Maistre with two of her children, left Chambéry clandestinely, and rejoined her husband at Lausanne, leaving to the care of her grandmother her young infant, who was incapable of enduring the fatigues of a hurried journey. During his abode at Lausanne. the estates of Count de Maistre were entirely confiscated; and this iniquitous spoliation, which blighted his prospects and those of his family, and eventually doomed him to twenty years' banishment from home and kindred. and wife, and children, he bore with the most Christian resignation. In one of his letters at this period, he laconically says, "My property is all sold, I have nothing more;" in another, "All my estates are confiscated; but I do not sleep the less for all that." Heavenly power of religion. which can thus take its sting from misfortune, and convert bitterness into sweetness! It was during his residence at Lausanne, that the Count published the admirable essay entitled, "Considerations sur la Revolution Française, (1796) which established his reputation, and henceforth ranked him among the deepest thinkers, and most eloquent writers of the age. Here, with admirable sagacity, he predicted the whole course of the French Revolution; and accordingly it was only after the fulfilment of his predictions in the year 1814, which witnessed the restoration of legitimate monarchy in France, that the value of this remarkable work was fully appreciated.

It was at the same period he published the "Letters of a Savoyard Royalist," the Address of the Emigrants to the National Convention, the Discourse to the Marchioness de Costa, and Jean-Claude Têtu. A little treatise now for the first time published, entitled, "Five Paradoxes," and addressed to the Marchioness de N., belongs also to the

same date. Many of these Essays are worthy of his bril-

liant pen.

During his abode in Protestant Switzerland, M. de Maistre devoted himself to a special study of the religious tenets, and moral and social influence of Protestantism; and thus he acquired that intimate knowledge of the history and genius of the Reformation, which his writings so strikingly display, and which it is so difficult for a native

of the Catholic South to obtain.

At this time, too, we are struck with a most amiable trait in his character. In a period of revolutionary ferment, when even good men are prone to carry the principles of legitimacy to extremes; banished from country, and home; robbed of all his property; associating, too, with the victims of Revolution, he yet preserved a singular equanimity of temper, and sobriety of judgment, and an admirable charity and tolerance in the conduct of private life. Of the latter quality a remarkable instance is perceptible in his courteous relations with Madame de Stael and her father Neckar, the immediate author of all the calamities of France and Europe. The generous qualities of heart, and the high intellectual endowments of the author of Corinne and Allemagne, he fully acknowledged; but as he says, it was her curse to have been born in an infatuated age that spoiled her by its sophistries and flattery, and would even have applauded her, had she made her accouchement in the chapel of Versailles. Elsewhere he calls her "that celebrated or famous woman, who might have been adorable, but for her desire to be extraordinary."

In 1797, M. de Maistre went to Turin with his family. But the King of Sardinia, unaided by his allies, was unable to resist the progress of the French arms; and abandoning his continental possessions, he retired to the island of Sardinia. The French immediately occupied Turin; and as the Count de Maistre was on the list of emigrants, he was compelled to flee. Furnished with a Prussian passport, as citizen of Neuf-Châtel, he embarked on the 28th December, 1798, in a small boat, which descending the Po, soon joined a vessel laden with salf, and bound for Venice, and which had on board many French emigrants of distinction, among others, the bishop of Nancy. The vessel was soon blocked in by ice; and the Russian ambassador passing by in a lighter bark in the middle of the stream, where the current was free, took in

Count de Maistre and his family. Soon after, French soldiers at a particular station of the river, entered the vessel, and demanded their passports of the passengers. A French soldier addressing Count de Maistre, said, "Citizen, you say you are a subject of the King of Prussia, yet you have an accursed accent. I am sorry I did not send a ball through that carriage of aristocrats." "You would have done a fine feat," replied the Count; "you would have wounded or killed two young children, and I am sure that would have given you pain." "You are right," replied the fusilier; "I should have been more sorry for it than the mother."

On their arrival at Papozze, the voyagers separated. M. de Maistre on a village sledge with his family, traversed on ice the Adigetto, and then embarked at the port of Chioggia for Venice. His abode at Venice was the most trying period of his whole emigration. Despoiled as he was of all his property, having now no pension from his court, separated from his relatives, without a friend in the city, he had nothing to subsist on but the produce of some silver plate, the sole remaining wreck of his fortunes; and this last resource was of course daily dimin-From delicacy he did not follow the king to Sardinia, fearing to become a burden to him. After the brilliant campaign of the Russian General Souwaroff, M. de Maistre repaired to Turin, as England and Russia had there formally restored the royal authority. But by the insidious policy of the Austrian cabinet, then under the worst influences, this restoration was frustrated. From Turin the subject of this biography was called to Sardinia by his Sovereign, and appointed to the post of Head of the Royal Chancery, the highest place in the magistracy of the island. Thus was he rescued from want; but difficulties of another kind beset him. During the long years of war, the administration of justice had become relaxed; acts of vengeance had multiplied, and an unwillingness to pay taxes was even among the upper classes prevalent. These obstacles to the execution of his duty Count de Maistre contrived to overcome by a happy union of firmness and conciliation, so that his three years' administration gave satisfaction to all parties, and his memory is blessed by the inhabitants of the island.

In 1802 he received a command from the king to repair to St. Petersburg in quality of envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of his Majesty. Here he was doomed to a cruel separation of twelve years from his wife and children, and sixteen years' exile from friends, kindred, and the land he so often sighs for—

"Il bello paese, Che'l mar ed Alpi circondar, è l'Apennin parte.

Besides the pains of exile, and the long severance of family ties, he had to endure the hardships of a confined income, totally inadequate to his rank. All these trials, severe as they were to one so sensitive, he bore with the greatest fortitude of mind and serenity of temper. This mission to St. Petersburg coincided with the accession to the Russian throne of the Emperor Alexander—a prince distinguished for his generous sentiments and the mildness of his character, and who, in despite of the bad education he had received from his master, La Harpe, entertained feelings sincerely religious. He soon appreciated the noble character and eminent talents of Count de Maistre, and during his residence at St. Petersburg gave him many tokens of his imperial favour. Indeed, zealous Catholic though he was, M. de Maistre was fortunate to have found in this schismatical country many true and attached friends. The Piedmontese officers, who repaired to St. Petersburg, were, owing to the esteem in which their ambassador was held at that Court, treated with especial favour. They received in the Russian army the same rank and honours which they had enjoyed in the Sardinian The brother of M. de Maistre, Count Xavier, a lieutenant-colonel, who in the Italian campaign had been on the staff of Marshal Souwaroff, was appointed Director of the Naval Museum at St. Petersburg. This officer, who afterwards acquired so much celebrity by his two charming little Romances, "The Journey around my Room," and "the Leper of Aoste," died at a very advanced age in the city of Warsaw this very year.

In 1806, Count de Maistre received a new mark of favour from the Emperor of Russia. His eldest son Count Rodolf, the present representative of the title, having been removed from Turin in order not to be compelled to serve in Bonaparte's army against his king and country, the Emperor Alexander gave him a commission in his Horse Guards. This young officer served with distinction in the campaigns of 1807 and 1808, and in the memorable

wars of 1811, 1812, and 1813, which led to the liberation

of Europe from the French yoke.

Most of the letters in the volumes before us are dated from St. Petersburg; and both as a man and a writer, they are calculated to exalt Count de Maistre in our esti-They show us the fond husband and indulgent father, the constant friend, the devoted loyalist and patriot, the fervent Catholic, the philosophic statesman, and the scholar equally versed in sacred and profane lite-The precarious and degraded condition in which the kingdom of Sardinia was sunk during the whole of Napoleon's sway, furnished the Count with many opportunities for exerting his diplomatic skill, and left him less leisure than is usually enjoyed by the representative of a second-rate power. His morning hours he dedicated to his diplomatic correspondence and visits, and his evenings to reading and composition. During his long residence in the Russian capital, he wrote the great works which have immortalized his name—the Du Pape, the Eglise Gallicane, the Soirées de St. Petersbourg, and the Examen de la Philosophie de Bacon. Here he wrote a translation, enriched with notes of Plutarch's admirable work, on the "Delays of Divine Justice," and composed a political Essay entitled, "Esprit Générateur des Constitutions Modernes"—a worthy pendant to the. "Considérations sur la Revolution Francoise," and which saw the light in the year 1814. With the exception of the translation of Plutarch's Treatise, and of the original essay just named, the great works adverted to slumbered in the Count's portfolio, and were revised for publication only after his return to Piedmont, in the year 1817.* Besides these larger productions, he wrote, during his northern sojourn, lighter Essays, like the two excellent Letters to a Protestant Lady, and a Russian Lady, turning on the controversies with the Greek and the Protestant Churches; Letters on Public Education in Russia; the brilliant Letters on the Spanish Inquisition, and an Examination of a particular edi-

^{*} Du Pape was published at Lyons in 1819. L'Eglise Gallicane in 1820; and the Soirées de St. Petersbourg, which the author was revising at the time of his death, saw the light in 1821. The Examen de la Philosophie de Bacon was published in 1836, fifteen years after the author's decease.

tion of Mdme. de Sevigné's Letters. Some of these were published within a few years after the author's death; and the others have for the first time appeared in the

present edition of his Opuscula,

The Count de Maistre had the excellent custom of reading always with a pen in hand, and noting down in his literary journal any passage that struck him, frequently appending to it some short remark of his own. His journals extend from the year 1774 to 1818, within two years of his death; they were bound, and carefully arranged in alphabetical order, and provided with a copious index, containing the author's name, and volume and page of the book quoted. These MS. journals embrace every variety of production from the stately quarto to the light pamphlet and magazine; and it is doubtless owing to these notebooks, that the writings of M. de Maistre are so remarka-

ble for aptness, as well as variety of citation.

A man of high character and eminent genius like the Count de Maistre, could not fail to exert the greatest influence at the court and in the diplomatic circles of St. Petersburg, as well as over the emigrant French nobility scattered throughout Europe, who regarded him with reason as an oracle of political wisdom. Accordingly, we find him consulted on the most important questions of policy by Russian statesmen and noblemen, either in a private or official capacity.* Louis XVIII., in a most gracious letter written in 1804, returns him formal thanks for his noble work on the French Revolution; and we find him connected by the ties of the closest friendship with the most devoted and influential partizans and counsellors of that exiled monarch, such as the Duke de Blacas, the Count D'Avaray, and others. Even Napoleon, who during his Italian campaign had read with admiration M. de Maistre's Reflections on the French Revolution, struck off his name from the list of French emigrants, and allowed him full liberty to return to France, and remain in the service of the king of Sardinia, retaining all the employments and decorations he might have received from his

^{*} We ourselves have perused in MS. an important memorial connected with the internal policy of Russia, which the Count drew up at the request of the Government. The interesting Letters on Public Education now for the first time edited, were written also at the solicitation of a Russian minister,

sovereign. This mark of favour on the part of the French usurper rather shocked the king of Sardinia and his ministers, and they demanded an explanation of the Count. Their scruples he quieted by referring them to a memorial he had addressed in 1802, to the French ambassador at Naples, who, like all other political envoys of that power, had been charged to receive the oath of allegiance to the French Republic from any emigrants who wished to avail themselves of the first consul's recent decree of indulgence.*

It is needless to say that on this, as on every other occasion of his life, the unswerving, incorruptible loyalty of Count de Maistre was fully appreciated by his sovereign. After the treaty of Tilsit, feeling deeply the humiliation of his king and country, and wishing to obtain more favourable terms for Sardinia, he took the bold step of addressing a private memorial to Bonaparte, to solicit the favour of an audience, and to engage him to enter into negociations with himself relative to that state, yet, without any formal authorization from his sovereign, and even without his privity, but subject only to his future sanction. This memorial, though warmly supported by the representations of General Savary, was left unanswered by Napo-

French ambassador paid at this time to the Count.†

At length the hour of liberation M. de Maistre had so long predicted, and so long sighed for, arrived: the colos-

leon. That he did not, however, regard it with displeasure, was evident, from the obsequious attentions the

^{*} In this memorial M. de Maistre frankly states that he was not born a Frenchman, that he did not wish to be one, and that never having set his foot in the countries conquered by France, he could not have become one; that he did not wish to take any oath of allegiance to the French Republic; that having constantly followed the king, his master, throughout all his misfortunes, his intention was to die in his service; that if in consequence of this declaration, his name should be erased from the list of emigrants, as being a foreigner, and he should eventually obtain the liberty of revisiting his friends, his relatives, and the place of his birth, this favour, or rather this act of justice would be most acceptable to him.

[†] After the conferences of Tilsit, a minister of the emperor Alexander asked Count de Maistre, "What do you purpose doing now?" "As long," he replied, "as there is a house of Savoy, and that it desires to retain my services, so long will I remain what you see me."

sal despotism, which had so long overridden Europe, was hurled to the dust; and most of its legitimate dynasties were re-established on their thrones. But by the treaty of 1814, Savoy still remained annexed to France, and this denial of justice to his native land, overclouded the joy which the Count naturally felt at the general pacification of Europe. He had now, after a separation of twelve years, the unspeakable pleasure of embracing his wife and children;—his daughter Constance, whom he had left at Chambéry, an infant in her cradle, under the care of her grandmother, was now grown up to womanhood, and embraced her father after an absence of twenty years.

The victory of Waterloo, so glorious to England, and so beneficial to all Europe, happily brought about a political arrangement more equitable towards Savoy, as well as Sardinia; and the Count de Maistre had now the great satisfaction of seeing his native country restored to her old locitimate release.

legitimate rulers. A source of vexation to the Count at this time was the expulsion of the Jesuits from Russia, accompanied as it was by other restrictive measures against the Catholic Church. The great Catholic reaction, which, in the early years of this century had originated in Germany, extended its influence even to Russia, and many men and women of high rank, and distinguished talents and acquirements, embraced the true faith. Count Rodolf de Maistre, in the memoir of his father, justly observes, that when science penetrates into a schismatical or heretical community, the mass of cultivated minds plunge into Rationalism, or Deism; while the better few turn to Catholicism, as their hope and refuge. So it came to pass in Russia; and these conversions to our Church may be considered as the ultimate result, as well as the counter-blow, to the infidel philosophy patronized and introduced by the empress Catherine. These conversions were greatly attributable to the zeal and activity of the Jesuits, who thereby became obnoxious to the schismatics, and especially to a certain Party of Illuminés,* that had now gained an undue ascendancy over the mind of the emperor Alexan-The minister of worship, Prince Gallitzin, a deadly der.

^{*} In our author's correspondence will be found some interesting notices respecting the Russiau Illuminés, who on a stock of Deism engraft certain Christian ideas and pietistic feelings.

foe to the Church, procured under these circumstances an edict of expulsion against these excellent religious;—an edict, which was, however, tempered in its severity by the

more humane feelings of the emperor.

As a zealous Catholic, and an intimate friend of the Jesuits, M. de Maistre incurred at the Russian court, the suspicion of having taken an active part in this work of But he frankly assured the emperor in a proselvtism. personal interview, that his official situation did not allow him to attempt the conversion of any member of the Greek Church; but that if any such individual came to consult him on religious matters, probity and a sense of duty forbade him to withhold the truth from the enquirer. His position, however, daily becoming more unpleasant at St. Petersburg, and his desire to revisit his native land more vehement, he solicited from his sovereign his recall. This the king granted, and conferred on him at the same time, with the title of Minister of State, the post of First President in the Supreme Court of Chancery.

The Emperor Alexander graciously allowed M. de Maistre to embark on board a ship of the line, that formed part of a squadron destined to bring back from France the Russian army of occupation. On the 27th May, 1817, he bade adieu to the country where he had so long resided, and where he left behind him so many esteemed friends, to revisit his native Savoy, which he had not beheld for twenty-five years. He arrived at Paris the 24th of June, where he passed a few weeks, but was much disappointed at not meeting there his illustrious friend, and philosophic compeer, the Viscount de Bonald. On his arrival at Turin, he entered upon the discharge of his official duties, with his characteristic ardour; but they served to retard the publication of the great works he had brought with

him from St. Petersburg.

In the year 1819 appeard the work Du Pape, in two volumes; it was succeeded in the following year by the Eglise Gallicane, in one volume. As the former book treated of the articles of the Gallican Declaration of 1682, and the influence of the Popedom on the general interests of the Church, as well as the civilization of nations; so the second treatise discussed the relations between the Church of France and the Court, the Parliaments, and the Jansenists. The sensation which these works excited in all quarters was prodigious; and the letters addressed to the

author on the occasion by various parties, especially Protestants, were highly curious and interesting. The Soirées de St. Petersbourg—metaphysical and moral Dialogues, which have for their subject the justification of the temporal government of Divine Providence—saw not the light, as we said before, till some months after the author's decease, in 1821. This posthumous work was edited by M. de St. Victor, the learned author of the Tableau Historique de Paris;* and as we have heard from a most respectable quarter, (we know not with what truth,) the quotations were certified by the Abbé de la Mennais. When surprised by the hand of death, the Count de Maistre was engaged in writing the epilogue (now published for the first time) to these celebrated Dialogues.

"These works," says Count Rodolf de Maistre, "are, in despite of the numerous editions which they have gone through, ever sought after, and the auditory of the author extends from day to day. It is a remarkable fact, that at the tribune, as in the pulpit and in books, so soon as the theological and philosophical matters treated by M. de Maistre are brought under discussion, he is always cited either by those who oppose him, or those who rest on his authority."

"His intellectual labours, his mental fatigues and afflictions of heart had by degrees worn out a most robust constitution. The death of his brother Andrew, bishop of Aoste, a prelate as much distinguished by his virtues as by his talents, and which took place in 1818, was a most severe blow to the Count. From that period his health, which had resisted the climate of St. Petersburg as well as that of Sardinia, became precarious; his gait, too, became unsteady; his head alone retained all its vigour and freshness; and he continued to despatch business with his wonted diligence. At the beginning of 1821, when secret rumours prognosticated the ignoble revolutionary ferment of that year in Piedmont, the Count de Maistre assisted at a council of ministers, when important changes in the legislation were discussed. His opinion was that the changes mooted were useful, perhaps even necessary; but that the moment was unseasonable for their introduction. He warmed by degrees, and gave utterance to a lengthened speech. His last words were: ' Gentlemen, the ground is trembling under our feet, and you would fain build.'

"The 26th of February, 1821, the Count de Maistre slept softly

^{*} This is one of the most learned, as well as Catholic, Histories of France.

in the Lord, and the 9th of March following, the revolution broke out in Piedmont. He succumbed to a slow paralysis, after a life of sixty-seven years of labour, suffering, and self-devotion; and he might thereby say with confidence: Bonum certamen certavi, fidem servavi. His body reposes in the church of the Jesuits at Turin. His wife and his grand-son have already rejoined him in the cold tomb, or rather in the abode of the blessed.

"In entering into public service at the age of eighteen, he had a fortune sufficient to secure him a competent independence in his native city. After having served his King for fifty years, he returned to Piedmont in a state of complete but honourable poverty. All his property having been sold, he had a share in the emigrant indemnity; but a great portion of the estates he possessed being in France, he remained without any compensation for their loss. With the small indemnity allotted to him, and a thousand louis d'ors he borrowed from the Count de Blacas, he was enabled to purchase a property of about a hundred thousand francs in value—the only material heritage he bequeathed to his children.

"The Count de Maistre was of an easy address, lively in conversation, energetic in his conduct as in his principles, a stranger to every species of finesse, courageous in the expression of his opinions, moreover distrustful of himself, docide to criticism, without any ambition save that of a faithful accomplishment of all his duties."—Notice Biographique, p. 21—2.

How true is the picture of the father here drawn by the son, the correspondence we are about to analyze will clearly show. The letters, which we have already characterized, are addressed to royal personages, to statesmen, and diplomatists at different courts, to noblemen, and ladies of rank, to prelates, regulars, and literary men, as well as to the members of his own family. We would fain have translated some of the amusing and interesting letters which the Count writes to his daughter Constance, as they reveal to us the affectionate heart of this excellent man, and his endless play of humour. But want of space forbids us to cite any but such as, for the very critical times we live in, contain lessons of the most urgent importance. In the selection of extracts we follow the order of time.

The following letter addressed to the Sardinian envoy at Bern, the Baron Vignet des Etoles, during our author's residence at Lausanne, displays that unflinching rectitude of purpose, that sobriety of judgment, that unclouded serenity of temper, which under the most trying circumstances never deserted Count de Maistre. Though his

country had been the victim of French ambition and rapacity: though her independence had just been annihilated by the French arms; and himself been despoiled of all his property, and driven into exile by French tyranny; still he was not unjust to France; he would not confound her with the revolutionary demon that for the moment possessed her; and, under the pretext of crushing Jacobinism, he would not sanction with his approval any attempt to destroy her nationality, partition her territory, or even

damage her permanent material interests.

We see, too, by this letter among others, how much those err who accuse this great publicist of being an advocate for absolute power. His keen penetrative eye did not confound the vis inertiae which in the last century characterized the declining monarchies of Spain, Portugal, and Naples, with that repose and stability which is the concomitant of strength. We must, however, beware of confounding the spirit of order and due subordination. as well as the joyous contentment that the Catholic Church had infused into the inhabitants of those countries, with the political feebleness and inaction brought about by an absolutism, which, after having so sadly abridged the liberties of the nobles and commons, made violent encroachments on the rights of the Church.

Again we must remember that Catholic states, though possessed of a principle of vitality, and an element of fecundation superior to all other civil communities, have yet in common with them their periods of rise, progress, maturity, and decay; and that even when blessed with the happiest institutions and the wisest laws, Catholic nations have their ebb and flux of prosperity and greatness, and cannot escape the vicissitudes of fortune. Generally speaking, however, a Catholic nation permanently loses its independence, its civil liberty, its political greatness, and even commercial prosperity, only when it has proved unfaithful to the spirit and practice of the creed it professes, when it has violated the discipline, or encroached on the spiritual independence of the Church, or by neglect and indolence suffered its fundamental laws to be trampled on with impunity. But as long as it retains the Catholic faith, such a people possesses in its own bosom the most potent principle of regeneration.

LETTER TO THE BARON DE V.

"Lausanne, October 28th, 1794.

"Nothing proceeds at random my dear friend; all has its rule, and all is determined by a power which rarely tells us its secret. The political world is as much regulated as the physical; but as the freedom of man there plays a certain part, we end by believing that the latter is all powerful. The idea of destroying or of partitioning a great empire, is often as absurd as that of taking away a planet from the planetary system, though we know not why. I have said it to you before; in the society of nations, as of individuals, there must be high and low. France has always held, and to all appearances will long hold, a foremost rank in the society of nations. Other nations, or to speak more properly, their sovereigns have, contrary to all the rules of morality, wished to avail themselves of a burning fever, under which the French laboured, in order to fall upon their country and divide it among themselves. Providence hath said no; always it doth right, but never, in my opinion, more evidently so than at the present moment; our feelings, either for or against the French, ought not to be listened to. Policy listens to reason only. Your memorial by no means shakes my opinion, which is solely this: 'That the empire of the Coalition over France, and the partition of that kingdom would be one of the greatest evils that could befal humanity.' I have drawn out so perfect a demonstration of that proposition, that I should not despair of converting you; but not by writing, for that would be a formal treatise.

"I thank you, however, for your Memorial, which is a very good historical piece. Observe, however, that you draw all your examples from a single reign, which is not fair. What nation, besides, has not abused its power, when it could do so? If you listened to the native Mexicans, and Peruvians, they would prove to you that the Spaniards are the most execrable of men. What had not Europe to suffer from Charles V., who, but for the French, would have entirely conquered it? All you bring up against Lewis XIV. cannot be set in comparison with the three hundred vessels captured by the English in 1756 without any declaration of war; still less with the execrable partition of Poland. Lastly, my dear friend, I repeat to you, we are agreed without knowing it. It is natural that you should desire the success of the coalition against France, because you think it conducive to the public welfare. But it is natural that I for my part should desire such success against Jacobinism only, because I see in the destruction of France, the germ of two centuries of massacres, a sanction given to the maxims of the most odious Machiavelism, the irrevocable degradation of the human species, and what will much surprise you, an incurable wound inflicted on religion. But all this would require a book.

"There is another point on which, to my great regret, I find we

are not perfectly agreed. I mean that a revolution of some kind or other appears inevitable in all governments. You tell me on this subject, that nations will have need of strong governments; and I beg to ask you what do you understand by that expression? If Monarchy appears to you strong, in proportion as it is most absolute, then in that case Naples, Madrid, Lisbon, &c., must appear to you vigorous governments. Yet you know, and everybody knows, that those prodigies of weakness exist but by their vis inertice. Be assured that to strengthen Monarchy we must base it upon laws, avoid arbitrary measures, frequent commissions, continual changes of function, and ministerial combinations. See, I beg you, to what a condition we had come, and how your ideas of good government, though very moderate and by no means affecting the prerogatives of the Crown, had yet been rejected."—Vol. i. p. 6-7.

In another letter addressed to the same statesman, our author denounces with just indignation the selfish policy of the allies, and especially Austria, then unhappily swayed by the pernicious counsels of a Kaunitz and a Thugut.

The letter we are about to cite, though bearing the date of 1802, would seem as if written for the present crisis of French affairs. In a few pregnant prophetic lines our political seer traces from the moment of its birth the whole history of the Napoleonic empire; its prosperity, its downfall, and the restoration of legitimate monarchy.

We shall place the letter before the reader and then make a few comments.

"St. Petersburg, July, 1802.

"To Mme, the Baroness de P.

"With all the respect I entertain for you, Madam, I do not share your opinion as to the great event, which now attracts the eyes of Europe, and which appears to me unique in the history of the world. You see in this event the definitive establishment—the consolidation of evil; but I persist in regarding it as an event auspicious under all possible hypotheses. A profound enquiry has only confirmed me in this sentiment; and these are my reasons.

Every one knows that there are such things as successful revolutions, and usurpations, which, though very criminal in their outset, it pleases Providence to sanction, by a long possession with the seal of legitimacy. Who can doubt that William III. was a very guilty usurper? And who again can doubt that George III. is a most rightful sovereign?

"If the House of Bourbon be decidedly proscribed, (quod abominor!) it is good that the new government should be consolidated in France. I prefer to have Buonaparte as king, than as a mere conque-

ror. This Imperial farce adds nothing at all to his power, and irrevocably destroys what is properly called the French Revolution, that is to say, the revolutionary spirit, since the most powerful Sovereign in Europe will have as much interest in stifling that spirit, as he had in fostering and promoting it when he needed it for the attainment of his object. We have now nothing more to fear than Tamerlanic revolutions, that is to say, military conquests. But in this respect the new title makes no difference; the danger was the same, and still greater before; for a title which has the semblance of legiti-

macy, imposes to a certain extent on him who bears it.

"Have you not observed, Madam, that in the nobility, which to speak parenthetically, is but a distention of Sovereignly, there are families literally worn out? The same may happen in a royal family. There is even a physical cause for such decay, to which people obstinately shut their eyes, and which it would be well to know. since we can prevent it; but that subject would lead me too far. Has the House of Bourbon reached that point, where it must incur the inevitable fate of the Carlovingians? The partisans of the new Man say so; but I have very good reasons for thinking the contrary, and I delight in so thinking, for it is the dynasty which I am most attached to, after that to which I owe all. There is, however, something to be noted in all those declamations of Paris. The French Bourbons are certainly not inferior to any reigning House; they possess much intellect and goodness of character. They have, moreover, that species of consideration, which ancient greatness begets, and in fine, that useful instruction, which misfortune necessarily imparts; but though I think them capable of enjoying royalty, I do not by any means think them capable of re-establishing it. This work could be executed only by the vigorous and even stern hand of an usurper of genius. His crimes even would facilitate the undertaking. There are two things, which a legitimate power cannot do. What would the king have done amidst all these ruins? Whether he had wished to compound with prejudices, or trample them under foot, those prejudices would have again and irrevocably dethroned him. Let Napoleon act. Let him smite the French with his iron rod; let him imprison, shoot, transport all who may give him umbrage; let him create an Imperial Majesty and Imperial Highnesses, Marshals, hereditary Senators, and soon-without doubt kuights of a particular order : let him engrave fleurs de lis on his empty escutcheon, &c. &c. Then, Madam. depend upon it, the people, foolish as it is, will have wit enough to say, 'It is then true that a great nation cannot be ruled by a Republic! It is then true that we must obey the sceptre of one Sovereign or other! It is then true that equality is a chimera!' Ideas so simple will occur to all minds, but I repeat the assertion, never could the king have inoculated such sentiments. would have been but one exclamation, 'see, he is returning with his dukes and ribbons, &c. What necessity of reestablishing distinctions

so odious? At present the French see what the case is, and one need not have so much wit as they possess in order to be perfectly converted. The spirit of the army, especially, can be called in question only by those totally ignorant of the state of things.

"I resume, therefore, my terrible dilemma. Either the House of Bourbon is worn out, and condemned by one of the inscrutable decrees of Providence, and in that case it is good that a new race should commence a rightful succession; (and what that race may be, is a matter of utter indifference to the world;) or this august family is destined to resume its place, and then nothing can be more advantageous to it than the passing usurpation of Buonaparte, who will accelerate his own downfal, and re-establish the foundations of monarchy without offering the least detriment to the legitimate Prince. I know not what will happen, but I know full well that those who cry out, 'All is over!' understand nothing of the matter. On the contrary, the coronation of Bonaparte increases the chances in favour of the king.

"Moreover, Madam, I of course feel I may have been deceived by my very natural attachment to the royal family of France, whose restoration would lead to that of the House of Savoy. Yet, in divesting myself as much as is possible for man, of every species of illusion, and of all the feelings prompted by duty and inclination, I still think that it is impossible for Buonaparte to found a new dynasty.

"If I were writing a book instead of a letter; and if I could plunge into a certain course of metaphysics, which I have formed for myself, perhaps I should succeed in making you share the same opinions. But let us take the shorter path of experience. Politics are like physics, they have but one good method, and that is the experimental. I say, therefore, open the page of history, and show me a single private individual, who has suddenly risen to the highest rank, and established a royal dynasty. This has never been witnessed; therefore I am authorized in believing that the thing is impossible: for how would it be possible that among the infinite chances of events, such a one had never before occurred. Charlemagne was the son of Pepin, that is to say, the most exalted person in the world. He stood by the throne, and the force alone of things, so to speak, seated him on it. Hugus Capet, who in his turn superseded the Carlovingians, was duke of Paris, first peer of France, son of Hugus the Great, and his origin was lost in a remote antiquity. The Stuarts were overturned by another prince, and their blood even did not quit the throne, for Queen Anne was a Stuart. Those families were, in fine, ripe for royalty. But look at Cromwell, who was in the same condition as Buonaparte; his race did not stand. 'This is because his son did not wish to reign,' say the good folks. O Bella! is there not a reason for everything? But I say, those families do not hold, and this is all I can say. I

think myself, therefore, well justified in affirming that the commission of Buonaparte is to re-establish monarchy, and to open the eyes of mankind by irritating alike royalists and Jacobins; after this he will disappear, either himself or his race; but, as to the period, it would be rash to conjecture, for every wise man must say, Nescio diem neque horam. But seeing the way in which things go, we may be allowed to form the most favourable suppositions. You see, Madam, that if I am deceived, it is at least with good reasons, and after having very attentively examined the matter; the more so, as you must perceive, I only skim the subject."—pp. 9—12.

What Count de Maistre said in 1802 of Napoleon I., we may say in 1852 of Napoleon III. If the illustrious house of Bourbon be doomed by Divine Providence to a perpetual exclusion from the crown of France, then it is well that a stable monarchical government should be established in that country. But if that family be destined, as we believe, to reascend the throne of St. Lewis, then the reign of Louis Napoleon will serve as an excellent prelude to the restoration of legitimate monarchy. In 1802 M. de Maistre believed against the most fearful odds that the cause of the Bourbons was not irretrievably lost. Half a century of wondrous political changes has elapsed, and we adhere to the opinion then expressed by our illustrious author. In that space of time this august family has been re-established on the throne of France, and a second time driven into exile. The chances of a second restoration are more precarious; for in the first place the Bourbons have to expiate faults committed during their fifteen years' rule, and secondly, Louis Napoleon is not like his uncle, an upstart, but the son of an ex-king, and the nephew of an ex-emperor.

By crushing Socialism last year with so much promptitude and vigour, and by continuing the religious policy so happily inaugurated by the Legislative Assembly, he has rendered imperishable services to France and to Europe. But is he likely to found an imperial dynasty? We think not, and for the following reasons. 1. Louis Napoleon proclaims the political principles of 1789 as the basis of his government. Now, though even a legitimate monarch would be bound to recognize the material interests that have grown out of the revolution, and which have obtained the sanction of prescription; yet its political doctrines, of which anarchy and despotism are the essence, every prince who wishes for stability of rule, should reprobate and abhor.

Hence, true to those revolutionary principles, we see the French President cling on the one hand to the system of Universal Suffrage, and on the other, to administrative centralization, or in other words, so far as we can yet judge, he seems to lean to the political system of his uncle, which merely compressed, and if we may so speak, legalized anarchy. 2. Though these principles of the revolution, which lie at the bottom of the Napoleonic rule, may at present be counterbalanced by the freedom granted to the Church; yet this freedom has not yet received any full and formal guarantee; and besides, as M. de Montalembert well observes in his recent excellent Essay,* without a well organized system of political liberty, there is no permanent ecclesiastical freedom. Louis Napoleon, though personally well disposed towards the Church, is known to be not very conversant with her doctrines, and his chief merit as yet is to have adhered to the ecclesiastical policy begun by the Legislative Assembly.

3. The ancient nobility of France, who still constitute the largest land-holders, are bound by all the ties of interest and affection to the ancient dynasty. The wealthy and educated classes are by no means enamoured of the new regime, and uphold it only as a provisional safeguard against the horrors of Socialism.

This instinct of self-preservation it is, more than the feeling of admiration for the Emperor Napoleon's military genius, which has made the French peasantry rally with such ardour and unanimity round the standard of Louis Buonaparte. Such, at least, is the opinion of an eminent publicist,† who in this matter is not biassed by any party feelings, and has had the best opportunities for coming to a correct judgment.

But popularity, however advantageous to a prince, is not the only nor even the highest test of the stability of a government. The strength of a civil polity is traceable to the internal organism of institutions, and not to the outward passing manifestations of the popular will.

The most original as well as sagacious perception

^{*} Des interets Catholiques au dix-neuvieme siècle, 1852.

[†] The Baron d'Eckstein, who in the autumn of 1848 traversed a large portion of France, and examined the feelings and dispositions of the peasantry in respect to the candidateship of Prince Louis Buonaparte for the presidency.

observable in the policy of Louis Napoleon, is his discernment of the incompatibility between the system of ministerial responsibility and monarchical government. Modern constitutionalism with a bitter irony says, the king can do no wrong; and hard, indeed, were it if he could, since it deprives him of all volition, and reduces him to the rank of an automaton. But the Catholic Church says he can do wrong, and makes him morally responsible for any parliamentary enactment he may sign contrary to religion and justice. Frederick Schlegel had reason to say, the constitutional form of government inverted the due order of things, and made the minister, backed by a parliamentary majority, the virtual sovereign, and the sovereign himself the servant of his minister. Hence, in this system, royalty is frequently placed in the painful alternative either of a violation of its conscience, or of recurrence to a coup d'état.*

This is the fundamental vice in the modern representative system, which the Count de Montalembert has overlooked in his recent pamphlet, and this oversight is the

^{*} We happen to know, from a very authentic source, that in the year 1828, King Charles X. being in the greatest anguish of mind at the projected ordinances against the Jesuit colleges and the episcopal seminaries, summoned to his palace at St. Cloud, Bishop Frayssinous, and other prelates, among whom we believe was his confessor, Cardinal Latil, to ask their advice whether he could in conscience sign the aforesaid ordinances. The prelates, though one of them Bishop Frayssinous, had abandoned place and power rather than sanction those odious measures, gave it as their opinion that, looking to the extreme difficulty of his position, and in order to avert worse dangers to religion, as well as to the state, the monarch might issue the decrees in question.

We feel convinced, ourselves, though we have no proof of the matter, that it was the dread of a like, or even worse violence being offered to his conscience by the revolutionary chamber of 1830, which drove Charles X. to the famous coup d'état of July. His ordinances which, had he but awaited the arrival of Marshal Bourmont's army from Africa, would in all probability have obtained a successful execution, aimed not at the suppression of the charter, but at assimilating it more to the British constitution, where, in the Lower House a permanent preponderance is insured to the landed interest. The Count de Montalembert, taught by a bitter experience, sees now what a fatal blow the Revolution of July struck at all authority in France, and has reason to hail the august house of Bourbon as the sole surviving protectress of French liberty.

weak point in that admirable production. Like that distinguished Catholic writer, we abhor the anarchic republic, and the military despotism of the first Napoleon; and, like him, we think the charter of 1814 in despite of all its defects and dangers, far more conducive to the interests of church and state, than the Bureaucratic Absolutism of a Joseph II. and a Francis II. in Austria, or the servile

favouritism of a Godoy in Spain.

It may be objected indeed, that in the British constitution monarchical government has long co-existed with the system of ministerial responsibility. The British constitution, we answer, is a noble remnant of Mediæval monarchy, in which if royalty be unduly depressed, aristocracy at least has obtained the preponderance. But aristocracy itself, as Count de Maistre observes, is but a distension (prolongement) of royalty; it has mostly identical interests with royalty; it is besides, cautious, prudent, sagacious, forbearing; never pushes principles to extremes, and thus is disposed to concede to the sovereign a degree of influence, which the more jealous spirit of popular government would not yield. It has been the close union of interests, feelings, and principles, between the upper and the lower Houses of Parliament, which has been one of the main causes of the durability as well as excellence of the British constitution, and without which it would most certainly have shared the fate of its many ephemeral, superficial imitations, and have given place to a licentious democracy, or to absolute power. This opinion, which we have on a former occasion given utterance to in this journal, is substantially the same with a sentiment expressed by the profoundest of our statesmen-Edmund Yet our constitution can with difficulty be transplanted, for it were not easy to find elsewhere so powerful an aristocracy; and moreover, the undue depression of royalty has deranged the organic development of our institutions; and the consequent preponderance of the peerage, though necessary and beneficial, has at last provoked a dangerous popular reaction.

How admirably tempered, on the other hand, was the states-constitution of the middle age! There royalty, while it retained its free volition, and was endowed with an independent patrimony, was restrained in the exercise of legislative power by the clergy, the nobility, and the commons, each resting on its own foundation, and acting

within its allotted sphere; while above was the Papacy, which, by its sublime umpirage, maintained in cases of dangerous collision the harmonious co-operation of all the

members of the body politic.

Such was the noble temperate monarchy, that had grown up under the shelter of the Christian Church, and which, though never brought to perfection, had yet insured to the mediæval nations so long a career of happiness and freedom, prosperity and glory. Amid the religious and civil convulsions produced by that great apostasy of the sixteenth century, which severed a large portion of Europe from the Church, and by a reaction bereaved the orthodox remainder of so many blessings, spiritual and temporal, this glorious Palladium of social order and liberty was mostly lost;—a Palladium, which after many aberrations and many calamities, Europe fondly pants for, and strives o regain, while it has been the theme of admiration to all the great conservative writers, whom within the last fifty years Divine Providence has raised up to combat the revolution.

This ideal of political government it was which floated before the great mind of De Maistre,* though not by any means with that distinctness and precision, which we find, for example, in the writings of a Frederick Schlegel or a Görres, or which humble individuals, like ourselves, after a dear-bought experience of thirty years' political strife and social revolutions, are enabled to give utterance to. Hence this digression will, we trust, be pardoned by the reader, as it may furnish him with a key for the interpretation of the opinions of our author, who at one time criticizes with severity the modern representative system, at another absolutism, though in his ardent controversy with the revolution, he not unfrequently, it must be owned.

seems to incline to the latter.

In the following letter the reader will see how this penctrative genius, even during the tumult and confusion of the Hundred Days, remained undazzled by the transient success of Napoleon, and still confidently foretold the final triumph of legitimate monarchy in France. He pays, en passant, a just tribute of admiration to the great captain, whose recent loss the empire now mourns.

^{*} He regrets in one of his works the desuctude into which the States-general of France had fallen.

"St. Petersburg, 11th April, 1815.

"To M. le Chevalier.

"I had closed and sent off my despatches of to-day when the confirmation of the fatal news from France reached us. The return of Buonaparte is as miraculous as his downfal; the consequences will be frightful, but we must guard against despair. War is about to re-commence with new fury. The allies must hasten to enter France, and not leave the usurper time to breathe. Unfortunately, also, the war must be conducted with more severity than before. There will be no success undestances, and a dictatorship be conferred on him, founded on the general persuasion and conviction of its necessity. No success without unity, and no unity without that prince; yet if he even were invested with all the necessary powers, there would be still formidable dangers to encounter.

"I. The union of the allies will be constantly endangered. There will be the opposition of antagonist interests and passions, as well as the artifices of Buonaparte, who will have various means of

tempting them in matters of detail.

"2. The Archduchess, Maria Louisa, and her son, will be subjects of great embarrassment on this occasion. The Emperor of Austria must have the courage to bereave himself of their presence, and

to place them, especially the young infant, beyond the pale of his jurisdiction.

"3. The discontent of subjects, which is carried to the highest pitch, is the last and greatest of these dangers. It is a terrible handle, which Buonaparte will not fail to lay hold of by all possible

means.

"The great pretension of our age is to think itself superior to all others; and the fact is, however, that it is very much beneath them; it is always in contradiction with the good sense of old times. This good sense had convinced all men that Sovereigns should treat with each other only through intermediate agents; and in fact, it can be proved that even excellent princes will have less success by themselves than by the agency of even indifferent ministers; but without plunging into reasonings, we have only to look to facts.

"Never, perhaps, did there exist better princes, more humane, more accessible, more reasonable, than those assembled at the Congress of Vienna. Yet what has been the result? Universal dissatisfaction. What is strange, is that the greatest of those Sovereigns have evidently let themselves be imbued with the philosophic and political ideas of the age; and yet never have nations been more contemned, and more insultingly trampled under foot.

"These are the three maxims, which have presided over the destinies of Europe. 1. Sovereignty must be esteemed not for its intrinsic, essential character, but for its physical power, contrary to

the old, universal, invariable principle, which ever demanded of a prince, Who are you? and not, What can you do? In consequence, the powers which have declared themselves, and even of a sudden made themselves great, have taken up the pen, and decided on the fate of others, and reduced them to the rank of mere spectators. Moral evils too long to be here detailed, must needs be the result; and moreover, on the part of all who have not gained by these changes, a discontent, which will be ever ready to show itself.

"2. Legitimate Sovereigns have publicly sanctioned the principle of divisions, partitions, and adjudications of territory for mere reasons of convenience. This is precisely the maxim of Buonaparte; and so long as conscience shall exist among men, it will be an eternal germ of hatred and wars.*

"3. It has even passed into a maxim, that we may in despite of itself bereave a nation of its lawful Sovereign. The direct and inevitable consequence of this maxim, is this: therefore we may à fortiori do so, if the nation demands it. But if a nation can cause its Sovereign to be judged, why should it not itself be able to pass judgment on him? This is all very bad and very dangerous; we know besides, that the greatest infliction for a nation is to be under the dominion of another. Sometimes circumstances impose this misfortune; but this is always a very dangerous state of things, and which sound policy and even justice ought as much as possible to avoid.

"There are, therefore, many combustible elements in Europe, and our great enemy will surely turn them to account, if he be not suddenly crushed; and he will not be so, unless the Emperor of Russia be declared European dictator.†

"The popularity which seems to attach to Buonaparte, ought not to astonish us; we unconsciously judge the French after ourselves; no notion can be more fallacious. For twenty five years the Frenchman has been deprived of his legitimate masters; to this we must add at least ten or twelve years, for before that age, man does not know himself. All under forty years of age in France (that is to say, the whole army and half of the nation) know the Bourbons no better than the Heraclidæ or the Ptolemies. From 1789 there has been no moral and religious instruction—no nobility, no priesthood, no moral greatness of any kind. War, and nothing but war. For fitteen years the French have been brought up in

^{*} How strikingly have events confirmed the justness of this remark, made 35 years ago by the noble writer! We need only remind our readers of the Belgian Revolution of 1830, and of the Polish Insurrection of 1832.

[†] That is, as the noble writer explains in a former part of the letter, Generalissimo of the allied forces during the war.

the fear and love of Buonaparte; there is not a French soldier who cannot say: 'Je ne connais que lui, sa gloire, sa puissance: vivre sous ce grand homme est ma seule esperance. Le reste est un vain

songe.

"In their colleges, their academies, at the theatre, at the church, as in the garrison, the people have heard speak of none else but of Buonaparte. At home the French have seen all the envoys of foreign Courts, and all the signs of royal fraternity; abroad, they have seen the ministers of their master recognized, caressed, feasted, and almost worshipped. They have observed the name of the King of France carefully suppressed, and the least homage rendered to his legitimacy, as well any doubts cast on that of Buonaparte, ranked in the number of offences calculated to draw down the solemn displeasure of foreign Sovereigns. Add to this, the great fact attested by all history and by the nature of man, that never did an army fall away from the captain who had led it to victory; and we shall see that the attachment of the French army to Napoleon is but natural and excusable. It is fidelity strictly speaking; the object is false, but the sentiment is good. This sentiment would be rectified by time; but since Buonaparte has re-appeared, this faithless fidelity must be dissolved. The virtues and the wisdom of the king will not be without utility for that purpose; they will act imperceptibly, but without intermission on the public mind, only we must beware not to eclipse the king. This fault has been but too long practised.

"It will be a fine spectacle to see Wellington pitted against Buonaparte. In India, where he began his splendid career, he already desired that piece of good fortune, and he has spoken of it as the object of his most ardent ambition. The two Captains are now in

presence of each other.

"Happen what may, and whatever (possible) success, Buonaparte may obtain, we still must not doubt of the re-establishment of the House of Bourbon, and all we see is but a surgical operation necessary for France."

"St. Petersburg, 14th April, 1815.

"I send these reflections to discharge a duty attached to my office, but without forgetting that events often render useless or false these sort of speculations in less time than the post takes to convey them. By the little news which has reached us since the 29th March, I do not see that there is any reason for changing my opinion. The king will not even be re-established, since he has not left France; he has quitted Paris—he will only return to it. The allies seem on a good understanding. Buonaparte, I hope and believe, will have returned from Elba only to perish. It does not even appear, (unless new miracles occur) that we ought to apprehend those momentary successes, which at first occurred to me as possible.

"Buonaparte expels the emigrants, and ridicules the king about his twenty years' reign—so much the better, he is not a Sovereign.

"It is true that in a multitude of letters, people from all quarters of Europe laugh at the fine result of such great political labours; but in despite of all the human imperfection inherent in this work, the great result will not be defeated, and royalty will come out stronger than before.

"I beg you, Monsieur le Comte, to transmit these reflections, which will only serve to prove what one thought here on the 14th April, 1815.

"When I say one, I should guard against generalities, for the saloons have pronounced the destruction of the Bourbons in secula seculorum."—Vol. i. p. 185-92.

The following is a playful letter addressed to an esteemed friend, a reverend Jesuit missionary at Odessa. In it the writer hails the dawn of the great Catholic revival in Germany, and with a most marvellous sagacity foretells nearly twenty years before there was the least intimation of such an event, the mighty religious movement, which has been bringing the choicest portion of the English nation into the Catholic Church. From the slightest sign in the heavens, the eye of this experienced seer could prognosticate the state of the moral atmosphere.

"St. Petersburg, 5th June, 1815.

"Very dear and reverend Father,

"Most certainly we have quarrelled, and as I do not know why, it is for you to tell me; and to this I summon you in virtue of holy obedience, which I claim under the right made over to me by the most Reverend Father General. I wrote to the Reverend Father de Vitry; I wrote to him again; I sent him even a little production, precisely of the kind which he desired, and not only he makes me no reply, but for a whole year he gives me no sign of life. Certainly, somebody must have told him, I was a Jacobin or a Jan-Speak, my dear Father, say one thing or another: Quicquid dixeris argumentabor. If by chance you hate me, I warn you not to look to any reciprocity of feeling on my part, for I never cease longing for you, which certainly is no sign of hatred. Since my friend the Italian has quitted Polosk for the ethereal yault, I much feel the want between seven and nine o'clock in the morning, as the season may be, of a philosophic or theological cup of coffee. I often think that you would be well able to give it to me, and the community of language, too, would certainly not spoil the beverage. Now that you have planted, others might water; while you might come here and chatter with your friends about agriculture. It is an inexhaustible subject, and which can never be well treated in

writing. The state of the vineyard was never, perhaps, so extraordinary. I have my eyes continually upon its workmen. ancient phalanx, already weakened by that which weakens everything, is already on the point of entirely disappearing. Where are the successors, and who will catch the mantle of Elias? This is the great question. I see, indeed, much zeal, assiduity, and a spirit of conservation worthy of all praise; but look where I will, I see nowhere the creative flame. I solace myself with my own maxims: I say to myself: Remember then what thou hast said, that nothing great had ever great beginnings. It is true, then, we see no flame; but who knows but a slight smoke, imperceptible to all, or almost all eyes, may not announce a divine conflagration for the coming generation. A man like Werner, for example, is he not worthy of very great attention ?* There are many other signs ;-sed de his coram. And this is why I ask of you that cup of coffee, which you will not refuse me, unless you be more miserly than Harpagon.

"Politics are another inexhaustible subject, and the more so, as they are connected with the preceding one, and cannot in my opinion, be separated therefrom. France is still under the anathema, so much so as to make me doubt whether she be not really dead. Yet I always believe that she is reserved to play some great part. I have said, I believe; perhaps I ought to have said, I wish to believe. As you please. It is true, however, that there are good reasons for believing so; but in one way or another, great changes will occur. Governments themselves begin to reflect; it is high time fourthy will one day issue some Congreve rockets that will give us a fine illumination. [Soyez sûr que de co pays partira un jour quelque fusée à la Congrève qui nous donnera une belle illumination.]

"Give me some news about the little corner of the great vineyard, which is to be tilled by your spade. Is the ground good, and do not the briars stifle the vines?"—vol. i. p. 220-2.

The same lofty gift of divination, which Count de Maistre so frequently displayed in his political writings, he evinced in his philosophic speculations also. The following letter, addressed to a sceptical friend, is worthy of the illustrious author of the Soirées de Saint Petersbourg, who, as a great German writer † has well observed, rendered

^{*} Zachariah Werner, a distinguished poet of Germany, who in 1810 embraced the Catholic faith, subsequently entered into the Order of the Redemptorists, and became one of the most eminent preachers of Vienna. The first occasion of his conversion was from seeing a priest at Rome, carrying out the Blessed Sacrament to a sick person.

[†] Frederick Schlegel, in his History of Literature, vol. ii. last edition, Vienna, 1825.

tributary to the service of religion, a mass of knowledge which had for the most part lain hitherto sterile and neglected. He pointed out the splendid tributes which Archæology, Ethnography, Geology, and Physics, bore to Revelation, and foretold the still more abundant harvest which religion was destined to reap from those sciences. How well this prediction has been realized, a reference to one of our recent papers may convince the reader.*

" St. Petersburg, 1st Nov., 1807.

"To come at length to the main subject of your letter, I fear, Monsieur le Comte, that we are not much agreed on certain fundamental points in the history of man, and of his abode. Moses has said all; with him we know all that was to be known on those great subjects, and without him we know nothing. History, tradition, even fable, and all nature bear him testimony. The deluge, especially, is proved in every way in which this great fact is susceptible of proof. Read Dr. Lardner's work, 'Heathen Testimonies,' and that of the celebrated Addison and of Father Colonia on this same subject: Testimonies rendered to revelation by profane antiquity; read the annotations of Grotius, and the first book of his fine work, De Veritate Religionis Christiana; and you will be astounded and quite overpowered by the universality of this belief. It has been found among even the savages of America; it has been found in China; it has been discovered in India, especially where of late years the learned Society of Calcutta has worked with indefatigable perseverance a new and rich mine of learning. In the sacred books of the Hindoos, written in a language that has been for upwards of two thousand years dead, and that have at last been unsealed to European curiosity by the labours of the society we speak of, we find Noah, the universal flood, the ark, the mountain, the dove, &c., as we find them in Lucian (De Deâ Syriâ), who had never heard speak of the Sanscrit tongue.

"Pray, Monsieur le Comte, did Ovid ever read in the bible, 'Omnia pontus erant, deerunt quoque littora ponto?' He expressed the ancient and universal tradition, as to mankind being renewed by a single family, and miraculously saved from a general shipwreck.

"Place on one side a book unique in all respects, bearing all the notes of inspiration, and on the other mankind, in all ages, bearing witness to it by traditions more or less disfigured; and you will see that, without going further, never was any fact more rigidly demonstrated than that of the deluge.

^{*} See the article on the Etudes Philosophiques of M. Nicholas in the number of this Review for March, 1852.

"What, however, Monsieur le Comte, if to all these general and historic proofs, so decisive in themselves, we add the physical proofs, which are overpowering. At the moment I am writing to you, all men, capable of the feeling of admiration, can admire at their ease the mammoth found last year in the embouchures of the Lend, in the seventy-fourth degree of latitude. This animal was encrusted (observe this well) in a mass of ice, and raised several fathoms above ground. This ice having begun to melt from some unknown physical cause, the animal within the last five years became perceptible. Alas! in a country more fertile in active connoisseurs, we should have possessed a wonder that men would have come from all parts of the world to see, as the Mussulmen go to Mecca; -an ante-diluvian animal, entire in its minutest parts, and susceptible of embalment; we should have been able to hold in our hands an eye that saw, and a heart that beat four thousand years ago! Quis talia fando temperet à lacrymis? But when it was entirely disengaged from the ice, it slipped towards the sea-shore, and there became food of the white bears: and the savages sawed the tusks, which it has since become impossible to find. As it is, however, it is a treasure which nothing but the idea of what we have lost can sink in our estimation. I have lifted up the head; it was a weight that tasked the strength of two masters and two lacqueys. I pawed the ear repeatedly, furred, as it still is, with hair. I have held on a table, and examined at my leisure, the foot and a small portion of the leg. The hoof, gnawed in part, had more than one foot in diameter. The skin is perfectly preserved; the flesh, quite hardened, has left the skin, and indurated around the bone: yet the smell is still very strong and very disagreeable. Five or six times successively did I apply my nose to this flesh. Never did the most voluptuous man inhale a delicious perfume of the east with the pleasure I derived from the fetid odour of a putrified ante-deluvian mass of flesh.

"I cannot quit the subject of the deluge without pointing out the ineffable absurdity of modern philosophers, who have tired themselves with demonstrating the impossibility of the deluge from the want of water necessary for the submersion of the globe; but from the moment they needed water for some chimera of universal crystallization, or for other notions quite as hollow, then they immediately accorded to us a little coif of water three or four leagues in thickness all round the globe. In truth, this is very kind. See what Buffon, La Mettrie, De Luc, and so many others say on this matter!

"The deluge being thus proved to the last degree of evidence, its.recentness is not less clearly established. I entreat you to read the geological letters of M. De Luc to Professor Blumenbach. This book, though in many respects very reprehensible, still adds the weight of a multitude of physical proofs to that of the moral ones,

which establish the newness of everything on the earth, and especially show that the catastrophe which once submerged the abode of man, is not more ancient than the date assigned to it by Moses.

"This being the case, Monsieur le Comte, what becomes of all the Egyptian, Indian, and Chinese antiquities? Buffon and Bailly, doubtless, had all the talents necessary to become true philosophers; but yielding to the influence of an extravagant age, they preferred to be mere poets and romancers in physics. There is no disputing tastes; but I confess, for my part, I prefer the romance of Don Quixote to that of the Epoques de la Nature,

"You have, doubtless, heard of all the noise and stir made by Dupuis with his Egyptian calendar of twelve thousand years. The French having brought from their Egyptian expedition a calendar sculptured on the walls of the temple of Dendyra, certain men have not failed to sound the trumpet to proclaim the irrefragable proof, the demonstration of demonstrations. But while they shouted victory at Paris, the astronomers of Rome and London proved that the monument was recent, and perhaps even subsequent to the Julian Reform of the calendar; and such good arguments have they adduced, that the infatuated Parisians have thought it best to make no reply.

"I am therefore very easy, Monsieur le Comte, about the matter of these antiquities. If the ante-deluvian patriarchs were acquainted with the cycle of six hundred years, I am very glad of it, and I see no inconvenience resulting therefrom. Those cycles, by the way, are no great wonder. When once we know a certain degree of astronomy, nothing more than patience and successive essays are needed to find out these periods of time. This knowledge, you say, presupposes at least two or three thousand years of study, &c. No, no, Monsieur le Comte, because the nations which possessed it were still so recent. I do not wish to plunge into the question of the origin of sciences; it is a subject too vast for a letter, and I prefer to pass it over in silence, than to devote but a few lines to it. Besides, facts being certain, we can well adjourn metaphysics, which are, however, my forte.

"From some passages in your letter, I think you regard as real the famous people invented by Bailly." I beg you, Monsieur le Comte, to give up that notion; never did such a people exist. Chaldea is the cradle of mankind, and it is from thence the sacred fire has spread over the earth. This I am sure you will not call in question, if you will but take the trouble of reading the Transactions of the Academy of Calcutta, and Maurice's history of Hindostan."—Vol. i. p. 83-7.

^{*} If we remember right, Bailly made the north the primitive cradle of mankind.

The letters to M. de Bonald are the most thoughtful and interesting in the present series. In the following epistle, the writer examines questions of the highest moment and deepest interest. The moral and political condition of France;—the problem as to the possibility of a nation's total, internal dissolution;—the dangers of Gallicanism;*—and the prospect of the glorious, religious regeneration of the French people, are the subjects brought under discussion. Its extreme interest will sufficiently plead for the length of the citation:—

LETTER TO M. DE BONALD,

"Saint Petersburg, Dec. 13, 1814.

" Monsieur le Vicomte,

"I have received your letter with an extreme satisfaction; I only regret that the pleasure which it afforded me has been so marred by the picture, worse than sad, you have traced of the state of things in France. I have meditated much on this picture, which staggers hope, indeed, but is unable to extinguish it. I entertain on this point opinions quite similar to yours. I see the evil as you do; my eye darts with terror into that deep cloaca. Yet an invincible instinct tells me, that we shall see something marvellous thence issue, as a superb carnation springs forth from the dunghill, which concealed its germ. The reason why we are often deceived as to changes, which we desire without believing them possible, is, that we are unacquainted with the theory of moral forces. The physical world is but an image, or if you will, a repetition of the spiritual; and one we may alternately study in the other. Water only sufficient to fill a girl's thimble, when reduced to vapour, bursts a shell. The same phenomenon is observable in the moral order of things. An idea—an opinion—a simple adhesion of the mind are but what they are; but, if a degree of sufficient heat make them pass to the state of vapour, then those sober principles become enthusiasm, fanaticism, passion in a word, (good or bad,) and under this new form they can raise mountains. Be not discouraged by the coldness you see around you: there is nothing so tranquil as a powder magazine half a second before it explodes. We have but need of fire: Ferte cito flammas; and this is what we possess. On this point, as on so many others, sir, I am completely of your

^{*} In 1814, when this letter was written, M. de Bonald, like almost all Frenchmen at that period, was a Gallican; for he had not yet addressed his powerful mind to the subject. But the writings of his friend, Count de Maistre, wrought a perfect change in his opinions on that head.

opinion. Out of the Church there is no salvation. This axiom, even transferred to politics, contains a sublime truth. France was France, because bishops constituted it, said the most Christian Gibbon. Posterity will put in a balance the tenth and the eighteenth century, and I think the former will outweigh the latter for good sense, for character, and even in a certain sense, for science; for it is a deplorable error to believe that the natural sciences are everything. What matters it to me, that people know algebra and chemistry, and are ignorant of everything in morals, in politics, in religion? Ever I can say, imminute sunt veritates à filiis hominum. To form a true judgment of an age, we must take into account not only its knowledge, but its ignorance. Our time,

as soon as it leaves a + b, no longer knows what it utters.

"The power of France is manifest in the evil she has done, as well as in the good which she had achieved; but all history bears witness, that nations perish, like individuals. The Greeks and the Romans no more exist, than Socrates and Scipio. Hitherto nations have been destroyed by conquest, that is to say, by means of interpenetration; but here a great question presents itself: "Can a nation perish on its own soil without transplantation nor interpenetration, solely by means of putrefaction, and by its suffering corruption to reach the central point, and even the organic and constitutive principles which make it what it is? This is a great and fearful problem. If you have reached that point, then there are no longer Frenchmen, even in France. Rome is no longer in Rome, and all is lost. But I cannot venture to make this supposition. I well see what shocks and afflicts you; but I have recourse to one of my favourite maxims, which is of great use in practice, the eye does not see what touches it. Who knows but this may be your case, and whether the deplorable state of things, which draws tears from your eyes, be aught else than the inevitable cloud which is to separate the present order of things from that which we look for? We shall see, or we shall not see, for I am sixty years old, as well as you; and if the remedy is chronic, like the disease, we may very possibly not witness its effects. At all events we shall say in dying, Spem bonam certamque domum reporto. I will never forego this hope.

"I speak not to you of politics; it is there the same as in everything else—names only have changed; principles have remained the same. We must pray, write, and have patience. I am. delighted to hear that my last Essay has not displeased you, and that, moreover, I have obtained the approbation of his lordship the Bishop of Orleans, and of M. de Fontanes. I beg you expressly, Sir, to offer them my most respectful compliments. Oh! how I would wish to address them en main prope, as Jeannot says. But this pleasure I must renounce, like so many others. All hopes of visiting Paris I must now give up. Yet there are good things to be done in that capital: Cry out with all your might, Ubi sapiens, ubi seriba, ubi conquisitor hujus sæculi? Twenty men

would suffice were they well agreed; but among the better description of men among you, and even in the salt of the earth, there are many errors. The Gallican Church in other points so worthy of respect, had nevertheless from causes that date from a long time back, come by degrees to consider itself not as Catholic, but as the Catholic Church. It had become difficult to make the best French head, even a mitred one, conceive, that the Gallican Church was but a province of the Catholic monarchy, and that a Provincial Assembly of Dauphiné or Languedoc, defining the prerogative of the King of France would but feebly portray the absurdity of an Italian or French synod, determining that of the Pope. Gibbon has said somewhere, the Gallican Church placed at an equal distance from Protestants and from Catholics receives the blows of either party. You will do me, doubtless, the honour of believing that I know how to appreciate at its worth the exaggeration involved in this passage. It contains, nevertheless, a great lesson for people, who among you had gone much too far. The harm which your writers, (I mean the good ones) had done to the spirit of Catholic unity, is incalcu-Look at Fleury, the most dangerous of men, who have treated of ecclesiastical matters; for there is nothing so dangerous as good bad books, that is to say, bad books written by excellent men deceived."

"You are alarmed with reason at the efforts which the evil principle is making against the good, but the latter defends itself in a manner very consolatory, and I should be tempted to believe that you are unacquainted with its conquests. Protestantism in a mass is evidently shaken; it ceases to be furious, and consequently to exist, for Protestantism is only a frenzy of pride, whose very nature it is to protest.

"On the other hand, the great prophecies are being accomplished. Japhet is evidently taking possession of the tents of Shem.* We shall see what we shall see. But in order that France may play in the memorable revolutions which are preparing, the part appertaining to her, it behoves her to examine and cleanse herself, otherwise she will not be of the Congress. Let me tell you a piece of foolishness which is not quite foolish. I fear the wicked men in France less than the good folks. The latter must allow foreign chemists to analyse before their eyes the Gallican soil, and to point out in it a Protestant element, (as small as you please, but still it is there, for the monster was born among you, and every great revolution leaves something behind it;) a Jansenistical element mixed up with the former by way of affinity; a parliamentary element rendered very bad by sublimation; and lastly, an infidel element,

^{* &}quot;God shall enlarge Japhet, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem: and Canaan shall be his servant."—Gen. ix. 27.

which needs not, I think, any description. See by what preliminary separation you can obtain virgin earth. Moreover, Sir, I demand nothing super human, and I well know that gold, at twenty-three carats, plus 31-32, is called everywhere pure gold. But I repeat so long as a man like yourself, for example, will look upon the Gallican declaration of 1682 as a thing not very mischievous, there is no hope of salvation, for it is only by the example of unity in universality we can be saved. But enough on this subject; these thoughts were on the nib of my pen, and they fell from it by the mere law of gravitation."—P. 172-77, vol. i.

In the correspondence before us it is truly delightful to see these two illustrious friends, united as they were by the bonds of a common faith, as well as by a most perfect congeniality of mind and feelings, commune with each other on the loftiest themes, and render homage to one another's genius.

The following letter abounds with interesting remarks, and contains a most just appreciation of M. de Bonald's noble work, the "Réchérches Philosophiques sur les Premiers Objects des Connoissances Morales," which ought to be better known than it is in England.

LETTER TO M. DE BONALD.

" Turin, 10th July, 1818.

" Monsieur le Vicomte,

"I have read with delight your excellent book,* but this is the misfortune, I am perhaps the only man in Europe who has not the right to praise it. Is it possible, Sir, that nature should have amused herself in stringing two chords so perfectly in unison as your mind and my own? it is really the most perfect harmony I ever witnessed; it is an unique phenomenon. If ever certain things of mine are printed, you will find in them even the very expressions you have made use of, and certainly I shall have made no change.

"Your last work, Monsieur le Vicomte, is a fine demonstration of a thesis which I have often maintained, he who knows not how to write is not a metaphysician. You have really right to speak of the word, (Le Verbe,) because you know how to discourse (verber.) I feel infinitely indebted to you for having begun a noble attack against the false gods of our age. They must needs fall; we must needs return to spiritualism, and we must not accord everything to the secretive organ of thoughts.†

^{*} Réchérches Philosophiques. Paris, 1818. † Words of Condillac applied to the understanding.

"The most guilty of all the modern conspirators is Condillac. You have dealt out justice to him, but with too much leniency. For my part, I confess I would not have been so patient. I cannot

think of this man without indignation.

"Respecting Bacon, I think we are nearly agreed. I have composed a tolerably large work, entitled, 'Enquiry into the Philosophy of Bacon.' I am persuaded it would interest and even astonish you, for unless we devote ourselves to a special and minute study of that strange philosophy, it is not possible for us to know all the mischief and all the ridicule it involves.

"In all you say respecting ancient and modern philosophers, I do not see it is possible to take any exceptions, except, perhaps, about Aristotle, to whom it appears to me you have done a little wrong in ranking him among the sensualists, (sensibilistes.) He has not by any means asserted that all our ideas come to us through the senses. He has written admirable things upon the essence of the soul, but we need a great effort to comprehend them, and a still greater to translate them.

"You speak like an angel, Monsieur le Vicomte, about languages, which are nearly all metaphysics. A man must be possessed with four or five devils to believe in the invention of languages. It is said in an old canticle, which I once learned from my nurse—

"' Le diable pour punitiiion Les prit en sa possessiiion.'

"Now this is what has happened, be assured, to the ideologists of our age. All were possessed, or their conduct remains inexplicable.

"I have not found you less just or less eloquent on writing than on language. You are of the opinion of the elder Pliny. Apparet æternum literarum usum. Never could this art have been invented. Bryant maintains that it was born on Sinai, but this idea is not tenable. You have well attacked, or to speak more properly, reduced to its just value that moving sand, called in general philosophy, and on which no human foot has ever been able to rest

in peace.

"You have well exhibited our two chief titles of nobility; the dominion over animals, and the exclusive use of fire. The orangoutang likes the fire as well as we; he sits down like us before the fire, he stretches out his hands like us, but for ages and ages he never will put in a brand. The world would clearly be uninhabitable for man, if the animal could dispose of fire. It is a happy chance for us, will say some philosophers, whom I admire as sincerely as I do the wit, who said at Lyons: 'It is a great piece of good fortune that the Rhone and the Saône pass into this city.'

"I pass over an infinity of details that would lead me too far; but I will tell you in general, and without the least flattery, you have composed an excellent work, that will greatly add to your reputation; it is written with gravity, purity, and eloquence. Its

profoundness is no detriment to its clearness; on the contrary the latter results from the former. It is, besides, a practical book, and calculated to exert over minds a sound and salutary influence. The father will prescribe the reading of it to his son. You have said, the greatest crime which one can commit is the composition of a bad book, for one can never cease committing it. You are quite right; but the converse of the proposition is not less indisputable, and I congratulate you upon it.

"For my part I only want one thing, and that is your name inscribed on the title page. If you will have the kindness to supply this omission in the first letter you write to me, I will paste you with very great pleasure.

"I am not at all consoled, Monsieur le Vicomte, for having missed seeing you last year at Paris. Where are you now, and what are you doing? Has a new election brought you back into the bosom of the National Representation? Or have you now gone to plant your cabbages, after having planted so many good maxims?"—Vol. i, p. 322-4.

In the following letter the hopefulness of Count de Maistre with regard to the future religious and political regeneration of Europe, strikingly contrasts with the tone of gloomy despondence, which pervades the letters of his French friends, M. de Bonald, and the Abbé de la Mennais.

TO M. DE BONALD.

" Turin, 4th December, 1820.

"How can I make sufficient acknowledgments for the very flattering manner in which you have deigned to express yourself about my last work * in the number of the 'Défenseur,' wherein you defend with so much logic and eloquence, the second volume of the Abbé de la Mennais, one of the chief accomplices of our band. Is it possible, Monsieur le Vicomte, that I should have gained such a place in your estimation, and that in that page so precious for me, friendship has not thrust in her wonted exaggerations.† But taking the worst, I will still have your illusion, which will be of inestimable value to me, since it can only be the fruit of a sentiment, which I rank among my dearest privileges. I esteem the Abbé de la Mennais, happy to possess a patron, such as you.

"I have just written him a long letter, and given him some explanations about a chapter in my book which had much puzzled

[&]quot;Monsieur le Vicomte,

^{*} Du Pape, 2 vols., Paris, 1819.

[†] The passage which Count de Maistre alludes to is that where M. de Bonald calls him "Grand homme dont l'amitié m'honore, et l'approbation me soutient."

him; it is that which treats of the average life of sovereigns, and of natural royal families. I conjure you, Monsieur le Vicomte, to examine this subject closely with your own excellent pair of eyes. If, in general, kings have a longer life than we have: if reigns are lengthened in proportion as religion becomes purified: if Catholic reigns are the longest; is not this a mine of contemplation worthy of being wrought?

"As to clerical celibacy, I have the firm persuasion that I have settled the question. I hope the famous argument drawn from population is destroyed at the root; and we may safely say, salutem ex inimicis nostris, since it is the Protestant Malthus who pays the cost of the argument.

"I doubt not, Sir, that ultimately we shall prevail, and that victory will remain to the French language. But extraordinary things will occur, which it is impossible distinctly to foresee. In one of my dialogues in the Soirées de St. Petersbourg, I have collected all the signs (I mean those within my knowledge) which announce some great event in the religious world. If the work is printed, you will tell me your opinion about it; and I hope by reason of the wonderful harmony, which exists between our two heads, my reasons will not appear to you entirely, and absolutely bad. Often in reading you, Monsieur le Vicomte, I burst out a laughing, at again finding in your pages the same thoughts, and even the same words, which slumber in my port-folios. This conformity is highly flattering to my feelings. Nothing is so consoling as such an agreement. This accord should become general, for the misfortune of the good party is isolation. Wolves gather together; but the house-dog is solitary. In fine, Sir, when we shall have done what we can, we shall die tranquil; but as much as lies in us, let us be agreed, and work together. The man who has been able to persuade two or three others to walk in the same path, is in my opinion very happy. It is a formal conquest he has made. This is why I have so much laboured to destroy all the petty punctilios which, to the great detriment of religion, separated our churches. You will soon see my last effort upon this great subject.* When I shall have emptied all my Russian portfolios, I shall suddenly stop; for I have no longer any time for writing. I have not even time to correct my MSS.

" Salut et attachement, frère et ami.

"Remember me always, I beseech you, and believe me more than ever, and for ever,
"Your most devoted Servant and Friend."

-Vol. i. p. 356-7.

The following letter is addressed to the Count de Mar-

^{*} Count de Maistre alludes to his Treatise, "De l'Eglise Gallicane," which had not then appeared.

cellus, whom many of our readers will remember to have been under the Restoration, the eloquent champion of the Church in the Chamber of Deputies. In this letter Count de Maistre points out how well his public career and the various circumstances of his life had qualified him to form an unbiassed judgment on the nature and bearings of the Gallican opinions.

" LETTER TO COUNT MARCELLUS.

" Turin, 13th March, 1820.

" Monsieur le Comte,

"What do you say? He composed a book in 1817, therefore he is alive in 1820. Fine logic, forsooth, and which will not fail to earn you much honour at the tribune! The fact is, you have proved nothing, and that my epitaph subsists like the remark of Dacier. I am delighted to hear, M. le Comte, that this posthumous work* has not displeased you, and that you have deigned to assign to it an honourable place in your library. The approbation of men like yourself, must be the sole reward of labours, which have not been light. I do not complain of your journals; their attention is distracted by a great crime, t and besides, they are wanting in courage. But I observe with pain, that men of good sense are blinded to such a degree as to object to my attacks upon the Gallican Church. Certainly, to show such a lack of reason, men must have their eyes covered over with that triple bandage, which I have spoken of somewhere. I have said that the Gallican Church was one of the foci of the great ellipsis; that she had been during the revolution the honour of the Catholic priesthood; that without her, nothing would be done, and that the work of restoration would begin through her, when she willed. What does she wish for more? That I should adopt her odious prejudices, and that I should tell her, Madame, you are right, when her errors arrest the course of everything? Oh, no, most certainly not. She must needs drink the chalice of truth,

"If she wishes to vomit it out rather than let it pass in succum et sanguinem; so much the worse for her. This obstinacy would deprive her of an immortal glory. I know not, besides Monsieur le Comte, whether I am right or wrong; no one has a right to judge himself; but I know full well, that no man perhaps was ever placed in circumstances so favourable as myself for forming an unbiassed judgment in this question. Born in a family of the high magistracy; brought up with all the ancient strictness; immersed from my earliest years in serious studies; a member of

^{*} This work, Du Pape, which, completed in 1817, was published in 1819.

[†] The assassination of the Duke de Berri.

a Gallican senate * for twenty years; president for three, of a supreme tribunal in a country of obedience, t as it is called; then inhabiting for four years a very learned Protestant country, ‡ and giving myself up without intermission to the examination of its doctrines; afterwards transported to a Græco-Russian land,§ where for fourteen years together I heard incessantly discussed the pretensions of Photius and his religious posterity; possessing the languages necessary to consult the originals; profoundly and systematically devoted to the Catholic religion; a great friend of your nation, with which I am connected by so many ties, and especially the tie of language; a most humble and obedient servant of the august family, which rules you: I ask you, Monsieur le Comte, what was wanting to enable me to form a conscientious and enlightened judgment in this matter? I shall, perhaps, or rather surely be told :-with all these data you may yet be deceived. Undoubtedly so; but if I were placed in a balance with the ablest Gallican, I should prevail in the judgment of a jew, a Turk, or a Chinese. I know not how this little apology has fallen from my pen; I confide it to your personal justice; for your nation is now too much occupied to be just.

"I have read with an especial satisfaction the speeches which you have delivered, or have wished to deliver pro rostris. I have found in them your wonted good sense, energy, and talent; but what above all has surprised me is the collection of your idyls; they have made me break the vow I had kept tolerably well for many years, never to read any more verses.

There is a very interesting letter to the Abbé de la Mennais, wherein the Count pays a just tribute of admiration to his Essai sur l'Indifférence en Matière de Religion; but delicately hints that the new philosophic method entitled, "Universal Reason," would bring him into per-

^{*} In Chambéry. ‡ Lausanne.

[†] In Sardinia.

Theocritus.

This system, as long as the author made a Catholic applica-

plexities, and expose him to contradiction from respectable quarters. "I have found," says he, "in your second volume as pure intentions, and as much talent, as in the first:—vigorous and profound reflections,—lofty views,—a pure, elegant, and, withal, dignified style, very well adapted to the subject; often, in fine, the point of Seneca, and the roundness of Cicero."

The Abbé de la Mennais was the first French writer who appeared in the lists to defend the work Du Pape; and, in an able critique, wherein he speaks of the author as a man, "in whom Europe recognizes a lofty superiority of genius," he made a vigorous, though dignified onset on But his essay, appearing as it did, simulta-Gallicanism. neously with the Philosophic Method above adverted to, laid the germs of that disunion between him and a large portion of the French clergy, especially the prelates and dignitaries, which, in the later years of the Restoration, was attended with mutual disadvantage to both parties. But without the generous and courageous zeal displayed by himself, as well as Count de Maistre, Gallicanism would not only have retained its ascendancy over the French mind, but even if it had not led to a schism (which is by no means improbable), it would have at least retarded the moral and intellectual regeneration of the Catholics of France.

But we must conclude. The reputation of the great man whose correspondence we have reviewed, grows, as M. de Montalembert justly observes, from day to day. It was not, indeed, reserved to him to witness the mighty moral renovation which his writings were destined to accomplish, nor to reap all the harvest of glory which they were to insure him. Called away from the seat of political and intellectual warfare at the very moment when he had won his first laurels, he was doomed to pass long years, far from the busy scene of contention, in the still, dark, polar regions of the north. Thence he contemplated, with fixed, untired gaze, the wondrous spectacle going on in the agitated centre and south of Europe; but when he returned to the theatre of his early achievements, the heroism of the veteran surpassed the prowess of the youth. Long and

tion of it, was tolerated, though not approved by the Holy See; but since his apostacy, it has censured it. It was stated in the second volume of the Essai sur l'Indifference.

brilliant as had been his career, its close was beyond example glorious; and, like a tropic sun, he set suddenly, and in a blaze of splendour.

- ART. IX —Nunneries. A Lecture delivered in the Assembly Rooms, Bath, on Wednesday, April 21, 1852. By the Rev. M. Hobart Seymour, M.A. London: Seeleys.
- 2. Convents or Nunneries. A Lecture in Reply to Cardinal Wiseman, delivered at the Assembly Rooms, Bath, on Monday, June 7, 1852-By the Rev. M. Hobart Seymour. Bath: Peach.

T will be plain to the reader that a connecting link is wanting between the Lectures here quoted. The second purports to be a reply to one which answered the first. This Catholic Lecture has not been published; but it is our desire now to supply the deficiency; for we may, at the outset, state, that our present article will substantially contain it, with such further information as more leisure has permitted to be collected, and with such additional details, as Mr. H. Seymour's second lecture requires. It is, indeed true, that the excitement on the subject before us has in a great measure died away. It appeared, a few months ago, that the safety of the kingdom depended upon two measures—the suppression of convents, and the extinction of Maynooth. As the elections approached, it seemed as if pledges on these two subjects were to decide the eligibility of one candidate rather than another. They have passed over; and we do not believe that any one cares now to count, what number of members respectively think one way, or another, on these two subjects. How is this to be explained? Is it merely that excitement upon any subject cannot be kept alive beyond a given time? Or, that this in particular was not a topic which deeply interested the public? These may be reasons; but we believe that another, and a more sensible one may be offered. Those who roused for a time the popular passions, in connection with the religious state, have overdone their work. Such attacks as the tongue of Mr. Hobart Seymour, or the pen

of Mr. Pierce Conolly has poured out, are met in the minds of thousands, by realities so contradictory of them, as to neutralise at once their malignant properties. Fortunately England possesses religious institutions in almost every great town, and in many rural districts. Ireland is, thank God, full of them—France, so easily visited, teems

with them.

When, therefore, we are told that nuns are a brokenhearted race, all bordering on madness, and any one visiting a convent sees none but smiling countenances, and hears but cheerful voices; when we learn that every convent is a cage, from which the poor birds long to fly out, and find on inspection, that there are open doors and unbarred windows on every side, and no one to prevent any religious flying to the generous asylum provided for her by Mr. Lacy's Bill—the matron of the nearest workhouse; when we have it roundly asserted that these establishments absorb enormous fortunes, and snatch everything away from families and friends, and upon enquiry discover, that on the one hand almost every convent is poor, and not one rich, and that, on the other, both the community and the novice have acted most generously in all pecuniary arrangements; when finally (we blush to write it) a foul charge of immorality is insinuated against these sacred institutions, and yet nobody can become acquainted with them, without finding them composed of persons whose purity of character, holiness of life, devotedness to God, fervour of charity, and sweetness of disposition, find, we will not say no rival, but no parallel in that world of sin, where their enemies would have to seek it; it follows as a necessary consequence, that the deceit practised is easily, and completely. discovered, and what was done to discredit, turns out to be the sure means of vindication. And hence we have witnessed with delight the phenomenon, that such institutions have received not the slightest check, by all that has been written to disparage them; their schools and charities are more prosperous than ever, and their noviciates certainly not less filled. Hence also it is not very wonderful, that not only Catholics, but Protestants should continue, chiefly on the continent and in the New World, to send their children for education into establishments, which their own observation has taught them, are the very reverse of what their maligners describe them. But we must enter upon our task more earnestly.

If we are to believe those who are now popularly declaiming upon the subject of religious communities or convents, we should come to the conclusion, that they consist of societies of persons, who can have no possible bonds, which in this world hold persons together, no common

interests, sympathies, or affections.

This is what numeries are said to be. You are to believe that people at some distant period of time, prepared large houses for the reception of a number of persons, who are to be entired or driven into them, as birds into the snare of the hunter; you are to believe that there is some inexplicable pleasure felt in seeing these poor creatures confined, imprisoned, and pining, and withering away under the effects of their treatment in these living graves; you are to believe that those persons are huddled together in places no better than our common jails, our bridewells, or our workhouses; and that especially the young, are the victims of all the most hideous vices and the cruellest oppressions—that they look upon the older inmates of these prison houses only as persons delighting in inflicting upon them acts of bitter tyranny, whilst the older ones consider the young only as objects upon which their spite and cupidity may be wreaked and satisfied.

And still this system, so full of cruelty and fraud, as you are to believe, must have gone on for hundreds of years, and must have been destroyed under the strokes of revolutions, and yet have revived again, as soon as the power which destroyed it had ceased to exist. In France, a few years ago, the revolutionary phrenzy abolished nunneries. and the nuns were scattered in all directions, and into different countries of the world. It was the same in Spain, in Germany, and in some parts of Italy; and yet, by some strange anomaly, by some peculiar and unnatural instinct, so soon as the storm was over, instead of singing with joy that the snare which held them was broken, and they were set free, those nuns came back, and entering within those lofty walls, those barred doors, and grated windows, where they had been the victims of a system of hardship and deceit, there they united, again to build up the old house in which they had spent their early years. And the consequence is, that the country which a few years ago knew not a nun-nery, now sends, by means of those establishments, education and charity to all parts, as a fountain springing up by

its own force, and pouring out the waters of benediction—so we may well call it—to the ends of the world.

But we have a fearful aspect given us of the very exterior of these religious houses:—"They have all the same characteristics which we observe in the bridewells, the penitentiaries, and the prisons of our own land. There are the same lofty walls, the same massive gates, the same barred windows, and the same grated openings; the same dull, sombre, cheerless aspect, the same uninviting, repelling, lifeless exterior; the same inaccessibility from without, the same precluded possibility of escape from within."

So writes Mr. Seymour.* But when a conquering army has passed over a land, and thrown open all the prison gates, and set the captives free—who has ever heard of these prisoners returning from the distant lands to which they had escaped, entering again within the prison walls, kissing the floors to which they had been chained, and asking that the massive gates should be again put up? Of this we have never heard in history; of the other we have heard: there are numbers of ancient religious institutions now existing, to which their former inmates returned, after being driven abroad by revolutionary armies and governments, and again united to repair and inhabit the old convents, the beloved abodes of their early years and cherished companions.

We must, however, enter a little more fully into this objection. Mr. Seymour is very pathetic on this subject of hard imprisonment. He enumerates, as we have seen, the resemblances between a convent and a prison. But he has omitted one difference of some importance, that the doors are all locked from the inside. It is not customary to entrust the inhabitants of bridewells with their own keys. But those of a convent are kept by a portress, elected from their own members, by the votes of the community. To the religious themselves is committed the

jealous guardianship of their own seclusion.

But putting aside all Mr. H. Seymour's appeal to English Protestant feelings, in his second lecture, let us further observe, that he carefully shuts out from view what is the real subject of proper investigation. Are English or Irish convents, even where enclosure is strictly observed, like prisons or bridewells? If this gentleman's

^{*} First Lecture, p. 5.

object be, as he shows throughout, to excite the feelings of our countrymen, but more still those of our countrywomen, against the conventual system here, should he not have rather proved or illustrated his theory of imprisonment, by something that exists amongst us? Convents must be abolished or visited, because they are prisons, and this is proved by appealing to the bars and walls of Italian or Spanish convents. At the same time it is notorious, that not a single religious house in England, though belonging to what is called an enclosed order,* is secured against easy escape, through windows or doors, should it be desired. Indeed, almost every such house has grounds attached to it, in which the religious walk, without any enclosing wall; and a discontented nun might really run away at no greater risk, than a few scratches in

getting through a hedge.

Not only is this the case in England, but it is so equally in France, where religious communities are newly estab-At Boulogne, a house of the Visitation has recently been settled: the nuns came from Paris, bought the ground, built a beautiful church and house, themselves had a high wall erected round the whole place. then, becomes of Mr. Seymour's impertinent and malignant remarks, about the suspicions cast by such a circumvallation upon the morals of the inmates? Did we want proof that it was no outward compulsion, but a spontaneous love of separation from the world, which suggested this expensive means of securing it, we could appeal to a large party of English gentlemen and ladies, who lately obtained the rare privilege of breaking the seal of this solitude, and invading its domains. There were, indeed, no barred windows, no iron-bound doors, to prevent a determined egress, but there were abundant symptoms of that happiness and joy which bind faster than iron or brass. Our declaimers forget, that

> "Strong walls do not a prison make, Nor iron bars a cage; Minds innocent and quiet take That for an hermitage.

^{*} By enclosed orders we mean such as have no external duties that require going beyond the convent precincts, such as visiting the sick.

[†] Second Lec. 10-14.

If they have freedom in God's love, And in their souls are free, Angels alone that soar above Enjoy such liberty."*

The decree of the Council of Trent, which orders all convents existing out of towns to be brought within their walls, as a protection against the depredations and violence of lawless men,† explains the origin of those severe precautions, which are relaxed in, and dispensed from, in proportion as the power of legal authority is strong.

Mr. H. Seymour, more happy ever in fiction than in truth, in his second lecture, amuses his hearers with a picture of what he says "no doubt this very Cardinal has himself performed," and "what he himself has frequently witnessed;" and it is this. Every time a novice makes her profession, "the poor girl" kneels before this said cardinal, or other officiant, while he, "with his crosier in his hand, and his mitre on his brow," utters a fearful anathema "against any one who shall presume to assist her in making her escape." Now, gentle reader, the whole of this scene, with which Mr. S. plays, like an Indian sorcerer does with a cobra, to the horror of beholders, untwisting it and twisting it again, through a couple of pages, is an ingenious device of a fertile Protestant brain. As we are perfectly sure that neither the Cardinal in question, nor any one else, clothing, or receiving a profession, has ever recited this terrible anathema, so are we equally certain, that Mr. Seymour has never heard it. He has, indeed, read it, and he translates it from the Roman Pontifical, where it is recorded in a service never used, certainly in this country, nor do we believe anywhere abroad, entitled: "De Benedictione et Consecratione Virginum." This is a pontifical ceremony, on the same model as that of an ordination, the consecration of a bishop, and the blessing of an abbot or abbess. It is not certainly the form of profession used by the Benedictine, Franciscan, Dominican, Ursuline, Salesian, Carmelite, or Cistercian nuns, nor by those of the Holy Sepulchre, nor by the Sisters of Mercy or Charity, nor by any others that we know. Indeed, Mr.

^{*} We have very slightly altered Lovelace's beautiful lines, † Sess. xxv. c. v. De Regul. et Monial.

[‡] The form of profession of these various orders have been separately printed; some of them in France, some in England,

Seymour, who is so pathetic on the age at which young ladies are allowed to be professed, might have seen, that the rite from which he has transcribed his anathema must be a peculiar one, from the circumstance that, before performing it, the bishop must ascertain that the virgins to be consecrated by it, must have completed their twenty-fifth year: "Pontifex...de earum ætate...singulariter singulas, videlicet, an annum vigesimum quintum compleverint... diligenter inquirit." We must therefore believe that Mr. Seymour has here used a little ruse. Not having at hand, or not knowing of, the real forms of clothing or profession used in any order, he has recourse to the Pontifical; finds an obsolete form ;—and eagerly seizes on its concluding anathema, intended for rough times, and when ecclesiastical censures were the only terror of iron-handed outlaws, or profligate nobles.*

Some can be easily purchased; the rest seen, by persons really

wishing to know the truth.

* We may as well put an end to the controversy about this anathema, which made a prominent figure also in the late "aggression" turmoil. The rite of "blessing virgins" given in the Pontifical had ceased to be in general use in the sixteenth century. Barbosa writes: "Et advertas quod consuetudo benedicendi virgines non amplius esse in usu." (Jur. Eccles. Univ. lib. i. c. lxiv.) And Thomassinus (Discipl. Par. i. lib. iii. c. xlix.) gives the reasons in full, for which it had gone into disuse. St. Charles Borromeo tried to revive it, in the sixth council of Milan: but the attempt seems to have failed, for Catalani quotes an authority which shows, that in the Diocese of Milan the rite did not prevail. Gavantus cites an answer of the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars, dated Dec. 5, 1575, declaring "that the consecration of virgins was gone into disuetude, and if it anywhere existed was to be abolished." (Manuale S. Rituum, Monial. consec.) Benedict XIII. who was most zealous for the preservation, or revival of old rites, performed this office, both before and after his pontificate. The latter took place in the church of St. Ambrose. Benedict XIV. speaks of the rite as still lingering among the Benedictines. From that time the office has altogether ceased to be used; so much so, that when the Archbishop of Taranto, during the last pontificate, wished to employ it, for consecrating some Poor Clares, it was considered necessary to obtain the Pope's sanction for the purpose. This was in 1831.

So much for Mr. Seymour's confident assertion, that the "Cardinal" had often used this rite, and that he himself had heard it,

till it still tingles in his ears!

But even so, Mr. Seymour could not but misrepresent. He describes the anathema as a bugbear to the professed, and not to her enemies; she is represented as being haunted for evermore by "the Cardinal with crosier in hand," pronouncing the Latin words of the malediction, and applying them to herself, her father, and everyone else, except those against whom they would have been directed, if pronounced. In fact, the words are addressed. not as Mr. S. artiully suggests, "against all persons who shall presume to assist her in making her escape," but against those "who draw away these present virgins from the divine service ... or who steal their goods." Surely, were any proclamation made against any one who "should draw away persons from her Majesty's navy," it would not be understood to aim at those who should aid or abet their escape, but at those who should endeavour to entice and seduce them away, or to tempt them to break their engage-The text does not, in the remotest way, insinuate what Mr. Seymour always takes for granted, that a nun is naturally predisposed, or inclined to run away, and that the Church is obliged to use her censures to prevent any one seconding this ardent wish. It clearly denounces the wicked and sacrilegious attempt, to take them away, whether by artifice or violence.

We shall have to say more on the subject of supposed imprisonment in convents; we must resume the thread of our argument, by returning to the condition of foreign religious houses, through which our own institutions are

mainly attacked.

It is said then that this is a compulsory life—one to which persons are driven. We will give a few facts, and leave the decision of this point to the reader's own judgment.

There is at Rome an institution—a very large establishment, consisting generally of ladies of the highest rank, and the noblest blood, called the monastery of the Tor de' Specchi. It has existed for many years, and at the present time has a fair number of inmates. There are the same terrible bolted doors and barred windows, and high walls; yet the religious take no vows, and hold intercourse with their friends. On days of festival the doors are thrown open, and those of the public who choose, walk through their beautiful halls, to attend their religious offices. For many years past, only two of the inmates have left the institution; one of them was within our own recollection;

she left to be married, and she was not looked upon with scorn in consequence, but was received in society in the manner befitting her high character and station. Where is the compulsion then? Yet we have here all the outward

marks of enclosure that have been referred to.

Another remarkable instance. The revolutionary Government of Spain did not suppress convents altogether; but it took away all their property, and subjected their inmates to great privations and hardships. We have heard from the mouth of one who had witnessed it, a case of much distress and misery, the effects of this injustice. A lady was on the eve of profession, and had paid her dowry, which formed her small patrimony into a bank, to be ready for the day of her profession. An order came out from the Government, just at that moment, forbidding any more religious vows, and seizing on all convent property. The convent was not suppressed, but all its funds were taken from the bank, and with it the above-named sum, so that the novice was not only forbidden to make her profession as a nun, but was also deprived of all means of returning to the world. The Spanish Government, like all revolutionary governments, encouraged the idea, if it did not believe it, that the religious life was a life of constraint. Therefore, it thought to get the approval of philanthropists, by opening the doors of the conventual establishments: and at the same time blind the world to the iniquity of the robbery committed upon their inmates. In taking all the property belonging to the convents, they settled a miserable allowance upon each nun. She was to have eight-pence per day if she remained in the convent. and ten-pence per day if she left it. A temptation was thus directly held out to abandonment of this supposed unwilling life, and a return to a longed-for home. Now, we have inquired in many cities in Spain, and we could scarcely hear of an instance in which a nun had left her convent. Only two, we were assured, had yielded in all Spain. But the most remained there; there we visited them; we entered the heart of convent after convent, and there we found them in the poverty and misery to which they had been reduced, but still contented and happy, and resigned to the will of God. How was it then, that they had not availed themselves of this opportunity, of being released from a system under which they were the victims of constraint, cruelty, and fraud?

But in Cadiz the reformers did more. The magistrates went to all the convents; and having thrown open the doors, made a speech to the nuns; as some seem to think should be done now. He invited them to leave the nunneries; he offered them Government protection, in case they should do so; and promised that no one should molest them. But what was the result of all this? Not a nun went forth. Does this, then, look like a system of compulsion? Does it look like a system where persons are driven into, and kept in, prison-houses, in misery and torment, from which in vain they wish to escape?

To this statement, when embodied in the Cardinal's lec-

ture, Mr. H. Seymour thus replied:-

"And, to illustrate this, he mentioned, in rather a romantic way, a somewhat unromantic story of certain Spanish nuns, to whom the magistracy threw open the gates of their nunneries, and offered them either eight-pence a day if they chose to remain in the building, or ten-pence a day if they chose to depart; and the worthy nuns, shrewd and thrifty women as they were, thought they could do better with eight-pence a day with a good house over they heads, than upon ten-pence a day, and find themselves; but while the Cardinal dilated thus romantically on the story of the Spanish nuns, he omitted to mention-no doubt it was one of those lapses of memory to which we public speakers are sometimes liable, and which give us the appearance occasionally of a want of ingenuousness-he omitted to state the trifling incident, that on the very occasion of those doors being opened by the Spanish Cortes, no less than two hundred and ten-that was the number officially returned -two hundred and ten nuns embraced their freedom, renounced their vows, left the convent, and became secularised!"-p. 11.

Now the coarseness and flippancy of this passage bear no comparison with its untruth. The opening of the convents by the Spanish Government took place on the 29th of July, 1837, and to this the Cardinal had alluded. The retirement of 210 nuns—not to renounce their vows, as Mr. Seymour asserts, but to live at home under them—occurred in 1820, by express permission of the Pope. But a Spanish nobleman, a member of the Senate, and a man of unimpeachable character, upon being requested by us to furnish us some statistics on this subject, without informing him for what purpose, has given us a statement, which we are sure our readers will not grudge our here inserting in extenso. It is as follows:—

"Nuns existing in Spain according to Official Census.

"1787 .- 1122 religious houses with 24,348 Professed nuns.

1,017 Novices.

925 Seculars (boarders.)

715 Children.

448 Lay Sisters.

4,533 Servants.

31,986 Females. 1,644 Men servants.

33,630

"1797.-1075 houses with 23,111 Professed nuns.

896 Novices.

603 Seculars (boarders.)

769 Children.

464 Lay Sisters.

4.366 Servants.

30,209 Females.

1,191 Men servants.

31,400

"In 1800 there existed in the convents 33.630 persons, including servants, which would be about equal to 24,000 professed nuns. The particulars cannot be obtained here.

"In September 1820, the Supreme Pontiff authorised the Apostolic Nuncio, to grant permission to become seculars, to such religious, both men and women, as should solicit it on just causes, Only 210 nuns took advantage of this permission, as is certified by documents presented in the Cortes, that is to say, one in each 115.

"This small number was composed principally of the old and infirm, who went to live with their families; the rest preferred remaining in their convents, although reduced to the most extreme poverty, all their property having been applied to the use of the public treasury.

"On the 29th July, 1837, all convents, both of men and women, were abolished, the nuns having permission to remain living in their convents if they so desired. The government which took possession of all their effects, except their clothes, was to allow them a pension of four reales (nine-pence halfpenny,) daily, but many years passed without any payment being made, on account of the difficulties of the treasury, and until the year 1850 the regular payment did not commence.

The poverty to which the nuns were reduced became extreme, but nevertheless very few left the convents. Public charity, moved by such destitution, formed in Madrid, and in all the principal towns,

societies of ladies, who took upon themselves to collect alms, and to distribute them. Ladies of the highest rank entered with great zeal into this charitable service, and by this means alone the nuns have been supported in their convents, still in much poverty, and with the assistance of their own industry in works befitting their

sex, which were sold by the ladies, being much prized.

"I have not been able to find any data respecting the number of nuns existing at the time of the suppression, in 1837, nor of those who since that time may have left the convents, but in the treasury accounts of 1850, we find the sum of 16,503,265, reales de vellon, (£165,000,) for the payment of the nuns' pensions then existing in the convents, which at the rate of 1460 reales each, would be equal to 11,300 nuns, voluntarily remaining cloistered,

after thirteen years of absolute liberty.

"In 1800, as we have already said, the number of professed nuns was 24,000. From the year 1820 the entrance of new ones was suspended. We do not know what the numbers were at the time of that suspension, but they would doubtless be fewer, because from the beginning of the century there had been reason to doubt the safety of monastic property, and this would naturally discourage fresh entrances; since families would not be disposed to risk the loss of the portion paid to the convent, the nuns remaining in poverty, as was eventually the case.

"But supposing that in 1837 there were 20,000, which certainly is above the mark, the deaths that must have occurred from 1837 to 1850, would have reduced the number at least a third part, certainly not less, considering the age of many, and their physical and moral sufferings, so that the existence at that period of 11,300 in the convents is an incontestible demonstration of their attachment

to the poor and laborious life of a religious.

"It is very remarkable that amongst those who remained were to be found members of rich families, who offered them in their houses all sorts of comforts, but which they would not accept, choosing to remain with their poor sisters. I am acquainted with several such.

"By the late Concordat admission has been given to a certain number in each convent. Many candidates presented themselves instantly, several being of the highest classes of society. The heroic conduct of the Spanish nuns during the years so trying to them, from 1820 to 1850, has augmented the respect and admiration in which they have always been held by their countrymen, and they may well be taken as models of religious virtue."

But the question will be put, what security has "the British public," that compulsory entrance into the religious state, or unwilling residence in it, does not exist in this country? There is this security, that we are men—human beings. Catholics we may be, and from some, such a fact

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is sufficient to bring down upon us torrents of vituperation; but you who live amongst us, do you believe that we have not the ordinary affections of other men? Would you, fathers, sacrifice your daughters to a system of cruelty and No! Has not the Italian or the Spanish father, then, think you, the same feelings for his children as yourselves? Mothers! would you-knowing the character of these insidious, deceitful, awful priests-would you allow them to drag your daughter to a convent, and to immerse her in a prison, when you knew she was only going as a victim, and not as a bride? Why, then, should the Italian or the Spanish mother do so? One is here almost tempted to use harsh words. There is in the national feeling of our country that which we fear, unless it be repented of, will bring down the scourge of heaven upon us: there is the proud and supercilious spirit which sets up ourselves, our interests, and our opinions, above all the world besides—the feelings of the haughty Pharisee, treating all others as poor publicans, whilst we alone are the great and the glorious before God! It might be really well for us to humble ourselves a little more—and not to set ourselves up as being alone the mediums through which are transmitted those instincts and affections which God placed in the bosoms of our first parents. If there are fathers and mothers in Italy, in Spain, or in France, they are the safeguards against our being carried away by such a system of fraud and oppression, as is popularly attributed to Catholics.

Can any one believe that the numbers of cases which must have occurred, tens of thousands of young creatures dragged away, or inveigled away, from their parental hearths—that such a crying evil could exist in any country, and the Government of that country not interfere? Would there be no bewailing parents, think you; would

there be no public cry demanding justice?

Where, then, is it we find these things? Oh, in books against the Jesuits! Priests or Jesuits, where think you they can obtain the magic influence, whereby they can steel the hearts of mothers, aye, and the brains of fathers to such a state of things? Good reader, we live in a practical age; do let us apply a little of our practical sense to this much misrepresented subject.

For God's sake, what interest could any priest or bishop in the world have, in seeing thirty or forty persons imprisoned together in the depths of a convent? What pleasure could we have in witnessing what we are told is the pretended smile of happiness, but in reality, is only the half-demented look, which is said to be the almost certain effect of conventual life? You meet us in society—you see and know us as men; but we should be worse than evil spirits did we love to see, sanction, or promote such things as these.

At any rate you will allow that we are superstitious. you deny that we have the common feeling of human beings, you will allow that we are—to excess, if you like attached to our Church, and believe in her authority. Now. the greatest authority in her is the Council of Trent; and that council, in the 18th chapter, 25th session, expressly pronounces in the most formal and emphatic manner, excommunication—not excommunication pronounced by sentence, after the deed, but excommunication incurred by the very act-against any person who shall by force compel, or who by any means shall induce, any female to enter a convent against her own will. The same excommunication is pronounced against any person who shall give the veil to such a female, administer to her the vows, or who shall even assist in the ceremony, if she is not a willing party.

Now, if we are devoid of human feeling, you will give us credit for obedience to the authority of our Church, and do you think any priest or bishop, would bring down upon his head the curse of a general council, by receiving into a convent one who was not known to come of her own free

will?

But, Protestant tract readers are studiously kept in the dark as to the manner in which persons are admitted into

these religious houses.

When any application is made to any religious community for admission, the applicant is first admitted in the form of what is called a postulant. She does not wear the dress of the order; but she is allowed to attend its religious services, and is, in fact, rather there as a visitor than a resident, and before the time of her probation as a postulant expires, which is often as much as six months, she may at any time she chooses go forth from the nunnery, and there is no power whatever to prevent her. When this period of probation has expired, there is a scrutiny into her character and conduct, and the inmates decide,

by ballot, whether she is admissible or not; not only whether she possess the requisite virtue and religious dispositions, but whether her temper and disposition are such as to fit her to be their associate for life. And we may here observe, that not above one-half of those who are applicants are able to pass through this ordeal, so as to obtain admission into the convent. If the inmates decide that the postulant may be admitted, the bishop is obliged to go in person, or to send his deputy, and his deputy is always a high ecclesiastical personage—and to strictly inquire, not only whether violence, or other harsh means have been used, but whether there have been any measure taken to induce her to enter the convent, or even whether her parents have persuaded her to do so; and she is invited to confide in him, and is promised every protection, in case she shall have been induced or compelled by any person to seek the conventual life. And the examiner is bound to reject her, if he finds that any undue influence has been used over her.

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But this is not all, If the bishop or his deputy passes her, she is then only admitted to what is called her clothing. She only receives a part of the religious habit, and is placed under the instruction of a nun, called the mistress of novices, in order to become fitted for her future course of life; for she has now become what is termed a novice. This state lasts one, two, and in some establishments even more years. During this period she is still free to leave the convent whenever she thinks proper, and can order the gates to be thrown open to her on any morning. And, again, before she enters the last state, and takes the veil she is examined once more, by the bishop or other external superior, is ballotted for once more, and her mind is searched minutely to ascertain whether she is a perfectly willing party; and if in all this she is found to be admissible, she is allowed to become one of the community; if not, she is rejected. Now these precautions with excommunication to back them, are surely sufficient guarantees against the asserted compulsory character of the life in

these establishments.

Against all this line of argument Mr. H. Seymour strongly protests, and his answer to it is to the following effect. St. Alphonsus Liguori, in his treatise entitled "The Nun Sanctified," gives examples of nuns who had been put into convents originally against their will, and

addresses religious similarly circumstanced. This proves, therefore, "the fact, that young women are sometimes put into these establishments against their own inclina-

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tions." (p. 26.)

This answer proceeds upon the supposition, that an assertion had been made to the contrary—that is, that such a case never happens. Such a line of argument had never been dreamt of. No one would ever have been so extravagant, or so rash, as to assert that the greatest possible precaution will effectually bar the commission of evil. No one could have been so illogical as to make a general negation, incapable of proof. But such was not the controversy in hand. Mr. Seymour had attacked the entire conventual system, as one of frightful imprisonment, of durance, and of consequent misery. It was shown that this could not be, because there were strong securities against this, first in parental feelings, secondly in the absence of all motive, thirdly in the decrees and censures of the Church, and fourthly in the examinations, probations, and precautions required by ecclesiastical law. These all proved that the religious houses could not possibly be, what that gentleman piteously asserted them systematically to be, cages for captive birds, prisons for unwilling bondswomen. This he considers he disproves, by showing that "sometimes" all these precautions fail, and parental cruelty, or girlish whims, baffle the ingenuity, and defeat the charity, of the Church, and cause the victim of either to fall into a wrong and painful position. Is this any answer?*

Suppose that a Catholic were to assert, that the clergy of the Establishment were all men without vocation, or call to such a state, led to it only as to a profession or means of living, by the prospects of ease and wealth, or dignity, which it holds out; and Mr. Seymour were to

^{*} It may not be without its use to mention here, that upon enquiry we find that almost every convent in or near London, (we can answer for nine,) and many in the country, are regularly attended by protestant medical men; it will be remembered that in the late Norwood case, two protestant medical attendants came to bear witness; as did a protestant surgeon of high respectability in a case of atrocious calumny against another convent. This proves how little fear exists of conventual mysteries being revealed, and how easily the inmates can communicate with the outward world.

answer, by showing what study and preparation that system demanded from the candidates for its ordination: would any one imagine him to assert by his answer, that not one single ambitious or worldly-minded youth got through that trial? We are ready to admit, that such cases as St. Alfonso alludes to do occur: the question is, are they the rule, or the exception? Read the very work in question. Do not the very passages quoted by Mr. Seymour prove that in the Saint's eyes, and in his experience, which was great in the matter, the unhappy or discontented nun (and even she is not one so necessarily from a compulsory profession,) was the black sheep of the convent, "distrusted and despised" by the rest of the community. (p. 28.) Could this be, if all the rest were the same? "St. Francis of Sales," we are told in another extract, was "asked his opinion concerning a person who had become a nun against her will." (p. 27.) How excessively stupid, if both he and his interrogator knew, that this was the case with hundreds-the common way, in fact, of all becoming nuns! Let any one run through the four volumes of this Saint's letters, and read the numbers of them that are addressed to religious women, and judge for himself, if he believed them all to be such against their will, or considered that the chief habitual excellence of the nun was, to make a virtue of necessity.

But let us further remark, that any one reading St. Alphonsus's, or St. Francis's advice to the exceptional nun, who is not happy, will observe that it is only advice; and they do not say that she is bound to act upon it, if

she has right on her side.

We must therefore distinguish two cases, which in the writings before us are always mixed up together. Confining ourselves to a rash entrance into religion, and excluding mere discontent from peevishness, ill-temper, or bad health, which would probably have made home unhappy, we may attribute this to two causes, either the undue influence, or even constraint of parents, or else a rash and inconsiderate rushing into the religious state without a vocation.

Now as to the first, let us hear the same St. Alphonsus, when he is not merely delivering spiritual advice, but is expounding the rights of religious, as recognised by Catholic theologians. He is answering the question:

"what is requisite for the validity of a religious profession," and his third condition is as follows.

"Thirdly, that the profession be spontaneous, not forced by grievous fear, such as would be that of imprisonment, deprivation of sustenance, if he would not consent to make profession. Also a reverential fear, not indeed alone, but accompanied by the repeated importunity of requests, caresses, and commands, or by the grievous offence and long-continued indignation of relations; with the addition of threats of refusing maintenance if he quit the religious state. For these separately, and still more conjointly, taking into account the position of an unlettered and timid person, may strike into him a grounded fear, and render the profession null, as Layman teaches.

"Whence the following cases are thus solved:

"1. He who has made a profession null from want of any of the above conditions, unless he afterwards tacitly or expressly shall have ratified it, can leave the religious state, and marry; although for the sake of avoiding scandal, he must declare the cause of his leaving, and if it be brought before the external forum," (an open tribunal,) "he must prove the defect of his profession. This must be done within five years from the day of profession; after that term he is not listened to, according to the Council of Trent; for

he is presumed to have, in the meantime, ratified it.

"2. But if he should know that that presumption of law (in his case) is false, because either through ignorance of the impediment, or prevented by grievous fear or any other just cause, he had been unable to appeal within the fifth year, or the impediment be essential and perpetual, or at least lasts beyond the fifth year, he may put in his claim after that period is elapsed, and ought to be heard in judgment, at least extraordinarily, or to be put back into possession of right to do so; as argues......Barbosa, who quotes many others; and unless something else stands in the way, he may run away, as Layman teaches.....

"Here we must add what has been recently enacted by His Holiness Benedict XIV., in his Bull beginning, Si datum hominibus, where it is decided; 1. That whatever is decreed about religious men embraces equally women, where the same cause is in force; 4. That the cause of nullity may be entertained, after the five years, if the religious have seriously made his claims, within that

period."-Theol. mor. L. v. c. i. Dub. 2.

From this an impartial person will see, that the Church, not content with precautionary, has taken also strong corrective measures, against parental, or family constraint. The vows are null, if made under it; and redress is to be granted, upon complaint, even after a long period of acquiescence. But is this, we shall be asked a practical case?

We answer, that it is. It is a very rare one certainly, as we have already shown; though no doubt the ladies who sign petitions against convents, think it ought to be a very common one. Only one has come in our way; and in that case liberation was at once obtained from the religious

vow, and the lady allowed to enter into wedlock.

The second case which we have mentioned, is that where no outward influence has driven to the religious state, but where the choice has been made rashly or inconsiderately, but freely. The readers of romances are familiar with the idea. A young, imaginative creature, disappointed in a sincere affection; a romantic enthusiast dwelling on ideal perfection, and craving after "the pensive cell," and its "heavenly contemplation;" an early mourner, drooping under the loss of every one dear, and coldly looked upon in a borrowed home; such are supposed to be the staple of supply to the conventual life, where it is embraced by choice. Now no doubt, such characters. not over common in every day life, may be found occasionally among applicants for admission into a convent: and it is a possibility, that upon such a state of feeling, especially the last, may be engrafted, by grace, a true vocation, and the peace and charity discovered in the cloister may wean effectually from the world to God. But we can have no hesitation in saying, that such motives and such characters as are above described, will not rub through the hard testing of the noviceship. In this there is no room for silly romance or maudlin melancholy; all is brisk, active and most homely. The melancholy young lady will find herself amidst smiling countenances, and occasionally have to stand the volley of a hearty laugh. • and find no time for weeping: and the romantic one may have to wash up the dishes, or to read very prosaic books upon the necessity of curbing the imagination, and repressing foolish sensibilities; and before the end probably of the first probation, each must have got rid of her idiosyncracy, and become a common-sense person, or she may make sure of being black-balled at the scrutiny for her admission. The best security then against an ill-judged entrance into the religious life lies in the ordeal of the noviciate, and in the right of self-protection against a probable disturber of peace and happiness, on the part of the community.

But now let us look at the supposed case, in another and

more rightful view. Mr. Seymour evidently considers it a great hardship of the conventual state, that a nun, who has deliberately, though still perhaps rashly made her vows, should not be allowed by the Church, at once to return to the world. "And if," he writes, "in after years, perhaps at the thought of friends, and family, and home—her own sweet, sweet home—feeling that there is no place like home—she may wish to withdraw, " " yet the moment she thinks of these things, &c." How touching and pathetic all this; or rather how childish and

mawkish! Let us test it.

Suppose a lady, not yet out of the flower of youth, came to Mr. Seymonr, as a supposed minister of God, and laid before him her sad case, and asked his advice. Her story is briefly as follows. When very young, not above eighteen, she was asked in marriage by one rich and noble. Her parents impoverished, though of high lineage, and burthened with a large family could give her no fortune. and strongly urged her to consent. The mother wept, the father frowned, when she hesitated. Then she began to look at the offer as her only hope for life; when parents should be no more, she would have a home; in the meantime she would have position and abundance—perhaps the power to do good. She makes up her mind-she consents -she deliberately accepts her state as irrevocable. St. George's Hanover Square, a ducal hero, and a splendid equipage, figure for a day in the Morning Post, in conjunction with her name, and her bridegroom's; and then the vision of dazzling hope melts gradually away. An embarassed estate, and encreasing debts; extravagance and meanness combined in all domestic arrangements; a sullen temper and bursts of passion alternating with one another; coldness and indifference requiting love; affections evidently elsewhere placed, and easy levity everywhere but at home; no heart, no refinement, no head perhaps, mated to a gentle, delicate and cultivated spirit; such has proved to her, the holy state of wedlock, sanctioned by her church, blessed by its ministers. The golden ring which they had placed upon her finger was an iron manacle riveted on her arm-till death. And now, "in after years, at the thought of friends, and family, and home—her own sweet, sweet home—feeling that there is no place like home—she wishes to withdraw" from a life which has become intolerable, and comes to ask advice.

What must that advice be? That, hard as may be her fate, and severe her sufferings, there is no release—but by a death. "It is true," would be said to her, "that such a life as you are doomed to is one of misery, gloom, and unhappiness; but when you chose your state for better or for worse, deliberately, and willingly, though not without influence being exercised over you, you yourself cut off all remedy, and you must bear like a Christian, the consequences of what you took on yourself." "But is it possible that the Almighty can have left no cure for so frightful a bond? or can have made any condition of one of his creatures so irremediable?" "Yes," must be the "You have bound yourself by a vow, before God, to remain the faithful companion of that man for life, and you must make the best of your condition. Sanctify it by patience, and meekness; hallow it by prayer; and God will give you strength, and will lighten your heavy yoke; and then life is short, and you will receive before long the crown of your patient suffering." Would not this be acting exactly as St. Alphonsus did? Would it not be the right way to deal with "a discontented, or unhappy" wife? Does not Mr. Seymour well know, that there are plenty such, not only among the poor, but among the rich and noble? Yes far more, who have been almost compelled to marry without affection, or who have married through silly caprice, or ambition, or worldliness, and are unhappy, than there are in proportion, unhappy nuns from compulsion or indiscretion. What would not the former give, to have been allowed, like the latter, a year or two of noviceship in wedlock, before pronouncing an irrevocable engagement!

But of course, we shall at once be told, that there is a great difference between the two states—that God has appointed the one, and man the other. Here in reality lies the deep principle, on which the entire controversy rests. The enemies of the religious state assume, that it is a mere human invention; we assert that is the carrying out of a divine injunction. Now, we have just as much right to assume our view, as they have theirs. Nor let the reader become alarmed, lest we lead him into a theological discussion on the subject. We content ourselves with referring to our divines, or even higher to the sacred Word of God, to the strong and clear declarations of our Lord, or of St. Paul; all of which of course weigh as

nothing with your general Bible-Protestants, who take as much or as little of that word as suits their views, whose first principle of interpretation is, that any text which serves Papists must be disregarded, or means the contrary, and who cannot for a moment conceive, that Master or Disciple can have ever, for a moment, taught anything, which would be distasteful to the enlightened English public, or not conformable to the heaven-made-easy ideas of assembly-rooms religionists.

That Mr. Seymour easily puts aside such high considerations of the subject, and takes it for granted, that what people were doing when the deluge overtook them, and will be doing when the doom of fire comes down," "marrying and giving in marriage" was, and is, and ever will be the great end of man's creation, life, and death, the highest of his destinies, the sublimest of his duties, is matter of course. Listen to the teachings of his second lecture:

"For in the beginning God made them male and female; in the beginning he made them man and wife; in the beginning he desired them to increase and multiply amidst the purity, and the innocence, and the holiness, and the happiness of Eden. But the Cardinal steps in with another and a different arrangement, and he would separate the man from the woman, and separate the woman from the man. The Church of Rome has adopted the principle that celibacy is more holy than marriage, and that married persons, as such, are not so holy as unmarried persons, as such. And, accordingly, it is held by many in the Church of Rome that the true atmosphere of religion is solitude and retirement; and that if we would attain to the highest flights of perfection, it must be in the cell of the hermit, or the cave of the anchorite; and as this would not be seemly or possible with women, so we must seek the loftiest flights of holiness, and the lowest depths of humility, in those women who retire to the silence, and the solitude, and the devotion of the cloister. It is not my intention to enter upon any argument on this subject, as I really feel it would be a waste of your time and my own. But I would observe that it has long been the glory of England,"-P. 8.

We must really fill up the sentence as it should be. "It has long been the glory of England to take what part of Scripture we please into our mouths: and therefore resting on the texts of Genesis, which suit us, I will not insult you by supposing that you hold with St. Paul, that 'he who giveth not his virgin in marriage doth better' than

^{*} Mat. xxiv. 37.

he who doth, or that 'the unmarried woman and the virgin thinketh on the things of the Lord' better than the married, 'that she may be holy both in body and in spirit.'"

Suffice it, then to say, that the Catholic Church does believe in these purer doctrines of the New Law; and while we leave to Mr. H. Seymour the marrying and giving in marriage people, as the class with which he would prefer to be found when the fire of judgment comes, we will beg to be associated with the wise virgins, who watched for their master, with well-trimmed lamps.

Hence in the Church are two states, equally forming a perpetual bond; the married and the religious. For as St. Alphonsus writes, in the chapter above quoted:— "Nam status religionis cum matrimonio æquiparatur." And so the argument returns; If a Mormon, who denies the indissolubility of marriage, attack one of these antiascetics, on the subject, he is obliged to deny, that there is any injustice in binding a person irremediably to a state voluntarily undertaken, though even the choice should turn out to be the source of intense and prolonged misery. God, who cannot be unjust, has made that the condition of a contract ratified before Him. How then if made with Himself?

But this parallel between the matrimonial and the religious state, will serve to furnish an answer to another of Mr. Seymour's grievances, as the champion of poor oppressed nuns. We must unite two or three short pas-

sages of his answer.

"Now the Cardinal, on this occasion, committed one of those omissions to which I have referred—to which public speakers are so very liable. He told us, indeed, of the postulancy, but omitted to tell us at what age the postulancy might commence; and he

† With this difference between the two, that the Church herself can never dissolve the one, but may free from the other. The bond of marriage is therefore more inexorably severe; and yet all allow

that a merciful God has prescribed it.

^{* 1} Cor. vii. 38, and 34.

[†] Or what advice would Mr. Seymour have given to a youth vowed to God, by his parents, as was Samuel by his mother, under the law? Was that not a harder condition, than where the obligation was voluntarily assumed at a mature age? It is clear that men, like this prophet, or Sampson, were held bound by the vows pronounced for them.—(1 Reg. i., 11. Jud. xiii., 5.)

told us of the noviciate, but omitted to tell us at what age the noviciate might commence; and he told us of taking the final vows, but omitted to tell us at what age the final vows might be taken."

—P. 14.

"The Council of Trent is sufficiently explicit. In the 25th ses-

sion, and at the 17th chapter, I thus read :-

"A girl more than twelve years of age, wishing to take the habit of a nun, is to be examined by the ordinary, and again before making her profession.......So that we have it here expressly stated, in the canons of the Council of Trent, that a girl twelve years of age may take 'the habit,'—that is, the vestizione, or commence the noviciate."—p. 16.

"We learn that the noviciate may begin so early as twelve years of age, and the profession may be made at sixteen years of age."—

p. 17.

"A young, tender, innocent, generous, confiding, loving, warm-

hearted girl-of FIFTEEN (!) or sixteen."-Ib.

"He did not tell us that the postulancy, being six months before the noviciate—that six months before the twelve years of age this postulancy begins—that is at eleven years and a half; that the child is free till twelve, and that then commences the noviciate, which was sometimes four years; that is, commencing at twelve and ending at sixteen: and so the whole period of her freedom is from eleven and a half to sixteen years of age, when we all know the mind of such a girl is plastic, and can be moulded by any one around her to desire, or to wish, or to do almost anything which those who are around her may desire."—p. 18.

Gentle reader! we must pause for breath. Never, even in a Protestant attack, have we read a more artful tissue of untruths, for we can call them nothing else, so woven together, as to bewilder any one, who has not the means at hand to unravel the web of sophistry, and false deductions. Bear with us, if we go into this matter, at some

length.

And first, what would be the natural conclusion of any one reading or hearing these passages, gems of falsehood, set in a text of pathos, and sensibility that greatly enhances their appearances? Why simply this: that as a matter of course, the regular system of making a nun is as follows. A poor child of eleven and a half is made a postulant; at twelve she is clothed; she then makes a noviceship of four years, and at sixteen is adnitted to her vows. Now the whole of this is untrue—almost every proposition of it, considered not merely as a statement of what is usual, but as a possibility.

We will begin by observing that the Council of Trent does not suppose four years of noviciate, but only one; (Cap. xv.) so that according to Mr. Seymour's view, she ought to be professed at thirteen. Yet this would be invalid, according to the same chapter. Let us then state facts.

1. No profession is valid until the completion of the sixteenth year, "non fiat ante decimum sextum annum completum," which is in reality the seventeenth year.

2. The Council of Trent says not a word about a girl beginning her noviciate at twelve, but only provides for her being examined at that age, if she express a desire of becoming a nun. She cannot enter her noviciate before her fifteenth year complete, that is till she be in her sixteenth year: a year before profession. This was formally decided by the S. Congregation of Bishops and Regulars, by a decree of May 23, 1659, given in full by Nicolius,* and referred to by Monacelli, who tells us he had seen the original in the office of the congregation; and adds that since its publication, no one could be admitted into the noviciate before her fifteenth year complete.

3. Consequently, all the fiction of a postulancy at eleven and a half falls to the ground, and has not had any existence out of Mr. H. Seymour's fertile imagination; and we trust that any tears shed over these tender plants, supposed to be drooping in the religious conservatory, will

be dried up when the truth is learnt.

But we shall be asked by many, is not the seventeenth year of life too early to make choice of such a state? We have already observed that the state of marriage, and that of religious profession, have been considered parallel in the Church. And hence the laws which regulated the one, have usually ruled the other. Mr. Seymour's audience, no doubt, thought that the whole conventual system is very modern, beginning at least, as he intimates, in feudal times. Our brief statements on the age of profession will prove the contrary.

In the third century, "the Virgins' formed a recog-

In the third century, "the Virgins" formed a recognized and distinct class among the faithful. St. Cyprian then calls them "the more illustrious portion of the flock

^{*} Lucubrat. Canon. l. iii. tit. xxxi. De Reg. + Formular. Pa, xi, tit. i, form. 7.

of Christ."(1) And the same martyr and bishop tells us, that once enrolled by the bishop, no virgin could go back from her choice; (2) and that, though they lived at home. they were entirely removed from the society of men.(3) They were maintained from the daily oblations of the faithful.(4) In the fourth century, in Rome, the Virgins dedicated to God still continued often to reside at home, given up to prayer and fasting, as St. Jerome informs us,(5) but wearing a particular dress, and a distinctive head-dress called the flammeum, being of purple woollen stuff, (6) which the bishop put on, with solemn prayers; (7) and they had a place set aside for them in church, cut off by a boarding from the women's place, and surrounded on the other sides by a wall, on which St. Ambrose tells us were inscribed precepts for the preservation of chastity.(8) But in this age, both in the west, and in the east, convents for women, as well as monasteries for men were established. For their existence in Rome, St. Jerome is a witness; (9) in Milan St. Ambrose; (10) in Africa St. Augustine; (11) in Gaul Sulpicius Severus. (12) As to the east, St. Anthony founded a convent in Egypt, over which he placed his own sister; (13) St. Pachomius one in Palestine, which was governed also by his sister. (14) St. Basil established many such houses in Cappadocia and Pontus;(15) and this was so far from being considered a blot upon his memory, or an act opposed to God's constitution of human nature, or to Genesis, or an evidence of a cruel disposition, that it is made a special topic of praise by the poet, orator, bishop and saint, St. Gregory Nazianzen,and we are told, that in one of these religious houses, there were, a few years later, two hundred and fifty

^{(1) &}quot;Illustrior portio gregis Christi." De habitu Virginis, p. 410, ed. Bened.

⁽²⁾ Ep. lx. ad episc. Numid. Conc. Eliberit. A. 303.

⁽³⁾ Ep. lxii. ad Pompon.
(4) Cornel. P. epist. ap. Euseb. H. E. l. vi. c. 42.
(5) Epist. ad Eustoch. de virgin. servanda.

⁽⁶⁾ Id. ad Gaudent. Optat. Milev. de Schis. Donat. l. ii. c. vii. (7) Hier. ad Demetr. Conc. Carthag. iv. c. 91.

⁽⁸⁾ Exhortat. ad Virg. lapsam. c. vi. (9) Epitaph. Marcellæ.

⁽¹⁰⁾ Ubi sup. c. vii. (11) Passidon. in vita. c. ult. (12) De Vita S. Martini, Dial. ii.

⁽¹³⁾ S. Athanas. in vita S. Antonii c. xxix. (14) Vit. Patr. c. 28. (15) S. Greg. Naz. Or. de laudib. Basilii.

nuns.(16) If the reader would look back at our number for December 1843, he will find an interesting account of St. Gregory of Nyssa's last visit to his sister St. Macrina, a nun dying in her cell, and found after her death to have a little cord round her neck, from which hung an iron cross, and a relic of the holy Cross. (17) S. John Chrysostome tells us that in Constantinople, at his time, there were a thousand religious virgins.(18)

And from him we learn, that a person was allowed to make a vow, binding herself in that state, at the age of twelve, at which, by the Roman law, she could validly marry. (19) This brings us to our point. The Trullan synod in the East fixed ten as the earliest age of profession; (20) the council of Agde in Gaul named eleven; (21) the Capitulars of Charlemagne, (22) and the Decretals twelve; (23) the constitutions of St. Basil sixteen or seventeen; (24) the African canons twenty-five. (25)

By this enumeration, it will be seen that in the earlier Church, and in the East, when greater piety prevailed, and where it is notorious that the usual age of marriage is much earlier than in the West, a very early age was named at which religious vows might be taken, bearing relation to the legal age of marriage. Both the canon and the civil law fixed the age of puberty at twelve, (26) and consequently, that was likewise considered the ordinary age at which, till the Council of Trent, religious profession was allowed. Where there were age and discretion enough for one choice, it was considered there were for the other. The fathers of the Council, seeing the change of manners, and the different state of society gradually introduced,

⁽¹⁶⁾ Theodoret, Histor. Relig. c. xx. (17) Vol. xv. p. 502. (18) Hom. lxvii. in Mat.

⁽¹⁹⁾ Hom. viii. in Ep. i. ad Tim. (20) Cap. lix. (21) Conc. Agath. A. 506, Cap. ix. (22) Capit. Car. Mag. l. i. c. 107.

⁽²³⁾ Decret, Greg. IX. I. i. tit. 31, c. 8. (24) Reg. S. Başilii, c. xviii.

⁽²⁵⁾ Conc. Carthag. III. an. 397, c. 4. Probably these two last are the dates of consecration, the last corresponding to the one in the Pontifical. We are indebted for most of the learning of this portion of our work to Pelliccia's valuable work, De Christianæ Ecclesiæ Politia, ed Ritter. tom. i. pp. 91, seqq.

⁽²⁶⁾ Cap. De iis, et cap. ult. de Desp. Impub. Princ. Instit. de Nupt. Lib. iv. ff. de Actu Nupt. c. Pub.

altered the period, and pronounced every profession invalid which was made before the entrance into the seventeenth year, an age nearer that at which marriage is frequently contracted in the south. And, in fact, at eighteen, a queen is considered sufficiently advanced in sense and wisdom, to undertake the government of a vast empire like this. It was not thought a dishonour, but a glory, to the Church in ancient days, that martyrdom crowned virginity at an early age. Who more honoured and cherished in the memory of saints than St. Agnes who, at thirteen, had not only vowed herself to chastity, but maintained her choice at the price of life? Let Mr. Hobart Seymour read St. Ambrose's panegyric of her in his first book, De Virginibus, and he will see it recorded to her praise: "To-day is the birthday of a virgin; let us cultivate purity. It is the birthday of a martyr; let us offer up sacrifices. It is the birthday of St. Agnes, let men wonder, and little ones not despair; let the married be amazed, let the unmarried imitate.....She is said to have suffered martyrdom at the age of thirteen." Or, if he prefer the charms of verse, let him turn over to Prudentius's hymn on St. Eulalia; and there learn, that God did not find the age of twelve too tender for the consecration of a virgin, by the sprinkling of her own blood. And the Christians of Merida, in the time of Dioclesian, instead of scoffing at the "youthful enthusiast," as modern Protestants would have called her, built a sumptuous church over her remains. But what relish can Mr. Seymour have for such delicate graces, who, quoting the example of St. Rose's early vow at five, adds a remark, which may have been suited to the taste of his audience, but is too vulgar and too rakish to be transferred to our For his blasphemies against the saints, may God and they forgive him! But it is truly sickening to see an individual calling himself a clergyman, who cannot speak publicly on chastity except unchastely, nor on holiness without impiety; who seems to consider human nature. redeemed at so dear a price, and elevated by grace, as only the sink of vile passions, and incapable of knowing virtue except through its antagonistic vice; who forgets, or does not believe, that the Son of God would have no mother but a virgin, (one, too, who, while yet in the opening of youth, gave to the announcing angel intimation of an irrevocable, previous vow, which every pure mind will easily believe to have accompanied the first dawn of reason and

earliest consciousness of grace;) and who, therefore, cannot understand that God may directly inspire a soul whom He "prevents in the blessings of sweetness," with a love of a virtue without even a knowledge of its sinful opposite,may make a child cherish humility without ever having tasted pride; - meekness, without having yielded to anger; - temperance, without experience of excess. And so may a child of grace, far earlier than coarser natures conceive, shroud itself in a veil of inward modesty, shrink instinctively from the gaze of most innocent affection, and, seeing intuitively that human love, in every shape, enthralls the heart, dedicate its own to an unseen, but clearly contemplated object, its Saviour, and its God. It has not been uncommon to affiance a princess of that age to a future royal husband; it is not unusual to hear children. almost in the nursery, promise future love, and espousals, to companions of the same age, and speak of one another as already mutually pledged to union for life; and no one sees in all this, precocity of evil. But let a child, instead of its toys, kiss the crucifix, and in early years say, that it loves Him whom it represents, beyond all others, and will love Him through life to the exclusion of every other object, and will have Him for sole companion, only friend, and will not engage in any other bond of love but with Him. this is to be considered evidence of a revolting familiarity with hateful vice! Such is Mr. Seymour's idea of those early grace-sown virtues, which spring spontaneously in a regenerated soul, nursed by the Catholic Church; such his judgment, no doubt ratified by his Bath evidence (thank God! mothers were not there) upon that mystical betrothal of herself to her Lord, which St. Rose of Lima made in almost infancy, but only to be ratified by her at a maturer age, when she might repeat it, and make it binding, though still doubtless, in spite of Mr. S.'s low opinion of virtue, with ignorance of sin.

But we will show later, by authentic returns, how practically different from what he would wish to make his readers believe, is the age at which religious, in this coun-

try, are received to profession.

We have dwelt at perhaps too great a length for our reader's patience, on the charge of imprisonment, or compulsory entrance into religion. It is in reality the essential

objection advanced to this state. We trust, indeed, that we have said enough to confute it. But we are told of terrible instances to prove the contrary: and here begins

the more disagreeable portion of our task.

We are told by Mr. Seymour, of a person who holds, or who held, office at the papal court. "It was a part of his duties to attend the Cardinal Vicar in his visitations of the nunneries; he was, therefore, a most competent person to give information as to the inner life of a convent. He was a man amiable, domestic, religious; he was a married man, and the father of a family; and he and his wife imparted information of exceeding interest upon all

this subject."*

What do you think, gentle reader, is the extent of this "information of exceeding interest?" It is that before the age of twenty-five, such is the conventual life, that the majority of the nuns in Rome died of madness! Upon hearing this statement, two Catholic gentlemen sought to know of the lecturer, who is the authority for this strong assertion, but in vain! And we may say once for all, that the whole of the anecdotes which Mr. Seymour has used are to be classed under two heads—first, those founded upon mere heresay; and secondly, those for which no

authority is given but his own word.

Were any one to assert, that scenes of darkness and villany, of murder, of the violation of innocence, of the foulest and most hideous crimes were perpetrated in the houses of the English clergy; and if he gave anecdotes of these deeds, upon the authority of persons having access to their houses, and if one came forward and said, "For God's sake let us know your authority for these statements, that we may institute inquiry into their truth;" were he to skulk away and say, "No, I cannot do so, for I should expose my informant to risk," what would you pronounce of such a man? Oh, we know what you would say—you would denounce him as a calumniator, and hold he had better never have said such things, than have uttered them, and then refuse to give those most interested, the means of testing their veracity.

After the lecture, a Catholic gentleman of high family, of unblemished character, and unquestioned integrity and honour, who has sisters and aunts in convents, felt that

^{* 1}st. Lec. p. 8.

this description of the conventual life in Rome was such an outrage upon the truth—that it reflected so seriously upon the characters of those whom he had been accustomed to regard as beings of superior sanctity—that he went to him who had publicly made these assertions, and entreated him to give him his authority for them; but in vain! This statement, then, we solemnly believe to be a pure untruth; we mean, that we believe it to be so, as to the source whence it is stated to proceed; as to the facts, we unhesitatingly pronounce it to be so.

We might, were it necessary, procure the returns of the different convents in Rome, and the state of mortality in them. Why the very statistics," to say nothing of humanity, were such statements true, would ensure an instant remedy. But, can you believe any set of men-even though they may be Catholic priests, to be so inhuman, as to allow such a state of things to exist under their very inspection? Certainly there exists not a more humane and upright man-a man nobler in blood and in character. than Cardinal Patrizi, the Cardinal Vicar at Rome. Do you suppose he, or any one else whose duty and interest it would be to look after the convents, would allow it? Do you suppose that if we, considered it so destructive of human life, we or any man could see nun after nun pouring into convents when we were certain, that at the age of twenty-five she would be either a maniac, or have already pined and faded into the grave?

^{*} An admirable instance of Mr. S.'s art of trying to mystify his readers, and shuffling off his ground here occurs. Any one could at once see that "the statistics" here alluded to mean "the returns of different convents," mentioned in the preceding line. Mr. S. at once takes the words to allude to "the statistics" and mortality of Rome; and proceeds to give the following instructive lesson in the science:

[&]quot;But since he speaks of statistics, he should recollect that there are other persons in the world who have the command of statistics as well as Cardinals themselves. And what are the statistics? In the city of London, by the public statistics, the number of deaths, as compared with the number of souls, is 1 in 45—in London, the greatest city of the world, the capital of the commercial world. But in the city of Rome, that city of the ecclesiastical world, that city of Rome the deaths are, by public statistics, 1 in 25, nearly double the number as compared with the population of London. Two deaths in

On this subject, the Cardinal, in his Lecture replied as follows:-

"Convents, however, if you believe the statement I have referred to, are not prisons, they are worse—they are lunatic asylums. I have, however, had the means of inquiring into the truth of some part of this anecdote-I have looked over the list of those, who by possibility could, in fulfilment of their duties, have had occasion to attend the Cardinal Vicar, in his visitations of nunneries, and I find amongst them none but ecclesiastics, although we are told that the informant was a married man. Now it is an easy thing for this lecturer to let us verify, whether such a statement was made. I am sorry to say it, but I must and do say, that I believe it to be false. If the informant was a married man at that time, it is impossible that it could have been part of his duty, to attend the Cardinal Vicar in his visitations to nunneries; and no person whose duty it was to perform such duties at that time, can have since been married.

"But, it has been hinted, that the individual who made these statements, would, if discovered, be thrown into prison, and kept in confinement, perhaps, for years. No such thing. I will myself undertake that he shall be without risk—nay, I will give bail and bond, that if he will come

Rome for one in London! Does not this look as if the statistics told rather the other way from the Cardinal's inference?"-p. 51.

Mr. Seymour would therefore have us believe, or considered his audience either stupid enough or fanatical enough to believe, that the difference between one death in 45 in London, and one in 25 in Rome, was caused by the deaths of nuns, under twenty-five years of age. Now in 1841, the last return accessible to us, there was in Rome a population of 158,868 inhabitants, and there were 1,580 nuns, that is not one in a hundred. We are therefore to believe that the mortality of 158,000 inhabitants is doubled by that in a 100th part.

Or take the wise calculation as follows. If the mortality of Rome were the same as in London, there would be about 3,160 deaths a year in a population of 158,000, or one in 45. And this it would be but for its nuns, who cause it to double, and be one in 25, that is, 6,320. Therefore half this number represents the mortality in convents; namely, 3,160 per annum, in 1,581 nuns. So much for Mr. Seymour's "statistics." We have taken his proportion of deaths, without verifying them, which we consider a daring measure.

forward and verify the statement, he shall not only not have a single hair of his head injured, but he shall be looked upon as a benefactor to his race, and that, too, in the country in which he lives. I repeat, however, that I must, and do, refuse to believe such an anecdote until it is verified; and I must deny the right of any one to make such accusations, without affording the accused the means

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whereby they may be tested."

We need hardly assure our readers, that this appeal was Further inquiries confirm what was here made in vain. stated, that, independent of all enquiry into the facts themselves, no such information could have been procured in the manner stated. But as to the facts, they would amount to this most marvellous statement, that out of 1,581 nuns in the convents in Rome in 1841, all were either under twenty-five years old, or else raving mad. To the falsehood of such an assertion, we pledge our veracity; and challenge enquiry, not difficult to make. As, however, England is what must interest Englishmen most, we will present here two tabular returns exhibiting the ages at which members have been professed, and an account of deaths that have occurred in English convents.

No. 1.—Professions and deaths during the last twenty years in religious communities established in this country

for a longer period.

A,—A community of 42 members.

(1) None were professed under the age of 23.

(2) Five sisters have died; three above 80 years of age; one above 70; and one below 40.

B.—A community of 48 members.

(1) None were professed under the age of 22.

(2) Twenty-six sisters have died; three above 80; 10 above 70; four above 60; and two below 40.

C.—A community of 25 members.

(1) None professed under the age of 21.

(2) Nine sisters have died; two above 80; two above 70; one above 60; and none below 40.

D.—A community of 15 members.

- (1) None professed under 21; and the average age has been 26.
- (2) Six sisters have died; two above 80; three above 70; and one above 60; none below 40.

E.—A community of 48 members.

(1) None professed under 21. (2) Twenty-eight sisters have died; one was 90; six above 70; five above 60; and six below 40.

F.—A community of 40 members.

(1) Two professed under 21.

(2) Fifteen sisters have died; one was 89; four others above 80; four above 60; and two below 40.

G .- A community of 19 members.

(1) Two professed under the age of 21. Average age of profession has been 23.

(2) Eleven sisters have died; two above 80; three above 70; two above 60; and one below 40.

No. 2.—Professions and deaths, during the periods stated, in religious communities more recently established.

H .- In England 11 years, and numbers 30 sisters.

(1) None professed under 21.

(2) Four have died; three from the ages of 42 to 55; one below 40.

I.—In England seven years, and numbers 37 sisters.

(1) None professed under 21.

(2) Two sisters have died; one of cholera at the age of 30; the other of typhus fever, at 23.

J.—In England five years, and numbers 21 sisters.

(1) One professed under 21.

(2) Two sisters had died of consumption under the age of forty.

From these statistics then, whose accuracy may be depended upon, for they have been obtained from the most authentic sources, it appears;

First—That out of 325 professed nuns in England, belonging to ten different houses, five have been professed under the age of twenty-one; that is, under two per cent.

of the whole number.

Secondly—That out of a hundred and eight nuns deceased within the last twenty years—belonging to various orders, some engaged in active works of mercy among the poor, as H. and I.; others in education, as B. and E.; and others again given wholly to a life of prayer and contemplation, and keeping therefore strict clausura, as A. C. and D.;—forty-nine, or very nearly one-half of the whole, have exceeded the span of life allotted by the Psalmist, three-score years and ten; of these twenty-four were above eighty; and of these again one was eighty-nine, and another ninety; whilst seventeen, or about one-sixth of the whole, died under the age of forty.

Dr. J. B. F. Descuret, physician to the Carmelite Con-

vent in the Rue de l'Enfer, at Paris, has given us the following results of his statistical observations, in that austere community.

Of 302 nuns deceased, (no period given)
23 had exceeded 80 years of age.
59 ,, 70 ,,
69 ... 60 ...

The average of life he states to be there 57 years and four months.*

Returning to the charge of madness, we have two more precious evidences alleged in Mr. Seymour's first Lecture. The first is that of a young lady who is said to have been forced by her father to commence her novitiate in a nunnery. We are told that "Having completed that year, so long and so sad to her, she entreated to be relieved from proceeding further, and prayed to be exempted from taking

the black veil, and becoming a nun for life."

We may observe here, again, as we stated just now, that she would have had the opportunity of speaking to those whose duty it was, and who would have been bound, to see that she was not involuntarily imprisoned. But the relator of the anecdote continues:—"Her father, however, who had, from her earliest childhood, assigned her this destiny of the cloister as her provision, would not be moved from his settled purpose, and she was obliged, as usual, to submit, and she took the vows, and assumed the black veil. But, as is usual on such occasions, she was to bid farewell to her family: and having sent for her father, apparently with that view," (we may observe that novices in Italy always go out of the convent three days before that time. for the purpose of seeing their friends, so that she might have had many opportunities for committing the tragic act related, without having to send for her father to the convent,) "and while in the very act of speaking to him, as uttering her sad and melancholy farewell, she drew a knife, stabbed herself to the heart, and fell dead at his feet!"

We have another similar instance of suicide a few pages further on. It is said to have occurred in 1845, when the

speaker was in Rome. He says-

"When I was at Rome, a few years since, the gates of one of

^{*} La Médecine des Passions, Liège, 1844. Third edition. † First Lecture p. 15.

the nunneries was opened for some purpose, and one of the nuns rushed frantic forth, escaped all her pursuers, plunged into the river, and there sought to bury her sins, her sorrows, and her shame, under the waters of the Tiber."—p. 20.

In another work by the same author, called "A Pilgrimage to Rome," we are told that this was, not merely a nun, but an abbess—so that she must have been one not subjected to the tyranny of another, but one who exerted tyranny and oppression over others—it was the superior over all in the place, who rushed out of the convent in a frantic state, and who "sought to bury her sins, her sorrows, and her shame, under the waters of the Tiber."

Here, then, are two cases of suicide, given us, as the result of the terribleness of the Conventual life, and as the mode adopted to escape from it. One, that of a person, not a professed nun, and who had, therefore, nothing to bind her; the other, of a person already professed, but the abbess, who had possession of the keys, and who had, therefore, no need of watching when the gates were opened "for some purpose;" for it must be remembered that the gates are not locked from without, but from within, and that without the abbess, who has the keys,

even the Cardinal Vicar cannot gain admission!

Here are two occurrences, then, which must, if they ever took place, have caused considerable sensation. It is impossible for any one who knows anything of Rome, not to feel, that such events as these must have become extensively known. What authority, however, does the speaker give for the truth of them? We will give it in an extract from a letter sent to us by the gentleman who called upon him, containing an account of his interview with him on this subject. He says:—" With reference to all such stories he had no evidence to give, but hearsay; and in reference to that one about the nun throwing herself into the Tiber, he answered that it was the talk of Rome. I asked him what convent it was? and he said he did not know, but that it was the public talk at Rome in 1846." Now surely, before this statement was a second time put forth, it must have been easy to ascertain in what convent it was that this unhappy nun was Abbess. And in the work already mentioned, too, it is said that the convent was not far from Mr. S.'s residence; and as there is not a convent in every street, it would not have been difficult, one would have supposed, to find its locality and its name. Again, there is this diffi-

culty. In the first statement it is said, that hundreds saw her, and could not rescue her. It must, therefore, have been a very public place where she rushed into the Tiber. She must have come too, in her nun's, or her abbess's dress, and if there were hundreds who saw her, and could not rescue her, there must be hundreds acquainted with these facts. We call upon you then, fair and honest readers, until some evidence be produced that such an event occurred, to disbelieve the statement, and suspend your judgments upon that system, the enormity of which it is put forth to illustrate. Do, for the sake of justice and charity, insist upon the means of proving, or disproving it, being given to us. It is impossible that a nun, much less then an abbess, should have thrown herself into the Tiber. and have been drowned without its being noticed by the public papers. But if there was no proof of it, if it was founded on mere hearsay—why was not the anecdote given as-"It is said," or "I have heard?"-why was it given as a fact—as a thing notorious—known to all, and only an instance and a proof, of the systematic villany carried on within the walls of the convents, where we are told "every crime of earth, and every vice of hell may be rife!"

But we cannot allow this atrocious tale to be considered merely as a statement waiting, or wanting, proof. Mr. Seymour, in his first publication of the tale, in his "Pilgrimage to Rome," spoke, if we mistake not, of its being current in Rome;" and in his second Lecture he tells us that it was "the subject of conversation in society at Rome" (p. 46). Now this is a fact easily ascertained. We have enquired from persons living there at the time— Englishmen—likely to know what was current in Rome, and a subject of conversation there, especially in the class of "influential" people; and, unanimously, we have been answered, that no such tale was current, and that no such occurrence was spoken of. Nay, more, one gentleman of unimpeachable veracity writes to us as follows: "With reference to the story of the abbess throwing herself into the Tiber, which Hobart Seymour says was 'current in Rome,' I made every inquiry there myself, as soon as his 'Pilgrimage' reached me (in the early Spring of 1849), and Icould hear nothing of it whatever. If you should think the evidence of one who made enquiries on the spot worth mentioning, I need hardly say, is quite at your disposal."

But further, Mr. Seymour even pretends to no more authorisation, than for the fact of this poor abbess throwing herself into the river. What right has he to say, in justice or in charity, that she "there sought to bury her sins, her sorrows, and her shame under the waters of the Tiber?" Who authorized him to assume the privilege, claimed as a Divine right by One alone, of searching the reins and heart? What knows this man of that fellow-creature's "sin and shame," supposing her to have had an existence out of Has not many a lady, innocent and blameless, in a paroxysm of fever, thrown herself from a window? and is it, we will not say Christian, but manly, without knowledge, or enquiry, or decent ground for surmise, to add disgrace to misfortune, and proclaim, as if a known fact, what the writer cannot possibly have learnt. Seymour strongly objects against the exception taken above, to the contradiction between the two versions of his story, in one of which the religious suicide figured as an abbess, and in the other as a simple nun. He writes as follows:

"But the Cardinal says that he discovers a discrepancy between the statements of the Pilgrimage to Rome and of the lecture; in the first, it is said to be an abbess, in the second a nun. Now, it is the same sort of contradiction as if in writing from London, I said an archdeacon of the Church of England had thrown himself into the Thames; and afterwards I had said, that it was a clergyman of the Church of England. And this is the amount of contradiction discovered by the Cardinal; for though certainly every nun is not an abbess, yet we know that every abbess must be a nun."—p. 46.

Not quite so. Let us propose another comparison; let us suppose that a priest had written to Rome, in proof of the moral state of Oxford, that during his residence there, one day "the head of a house" had rushed out from his college in a state of inebriety, and in the presence of hundreds, who tried in vain to stop him, had plunged into the Isis, "there to bury his sin and shame;" and for his authority, had said that an influential person in the church had come into his room much excited, immediately after, and told him, and that it was the "current talk" of Oxford. And then suppose that, in a later publication, he spoke of the self-murderer as merely "a student of one of the colleges," would not this have been contradiction enough, and very different from the discrepancy in accounts, which first spoke of an archdeacon and then of a clergyman?

Mr. Seymour's second lecture abounds with these paltry subterfuges, which it would wear out the time and patience of our readers to notice. But again, the Cardinal having spoken of the improbability of "the newspapers" not having got hold of such an occurrence, Mr. S. at once jumps at this, and begins one of his indirect attacks, assaulting the Roman papers, and the Roman government, because it would not allow the English papers to be read in Rome. This is all throwing dust into his readers' eyes. He knew perfectly well that a person speaking in England of "the newspapers" does not mean the Roman ones, and that the fact of insertion in the English papers does not depend upon their being read in Mr. Monaldini's reading-room. The Times has always had a tolerably vigilant correspondent in Italy, and not a very scrupulous one. The Chronicle, however, passively fair towards us in England, keeps an "own correspondent" too, bitter enough, and credulous enough, when the disparagement of Rome is in question; and we need say nothing of the Herald, or other inferior This "genus Ardellionum" are too ready to gather up "the subjects of conversation in society there," and send them to feed the religious appetite of England. And we should reckon it an impossibility, that such dainty fare as an abbess, dressed in her own habit, and passée à l'eau of the Tiber, should have escaped these caterers.

At the close of the lecture, four other instances are given of nuns being disposed of by being sent abroad; and here again we have endeavoured to obtain the means of verifying the facts, but have failed. It is also intimated that gross moral delinquency had taken place, which makes the calumny worse. If true, the police and magistrates should have interfered; but such statements should not be put forth as everyday occurrences in religious establishments, and when proof is asked, the parties seek-

ing it be denied all evidence of the facts.

This brings us to another, and a very important matter. One of the great objections urged to the conventual system is, that English nuns have been sent abroad to join affiliated convents on the continent. We are told of a case in which it is said that the nun, whilst in England, was felt to be near her friends, and that there was a possibility of her escape, but that she was removed, and her friends knew not what had become of her, until she was discovered in a foreign convent. But it is not said whether

she was of age, and had a right to act as she thought proper; it is not said whether she removed abroad by her own choice, nor whether, when she was discovered in a foreign convent, she had stated that she was not placed there by her own consent. Surely these things should be told us; as all must be aware, that if a person was of age, she had a perfect right to control her own actions, and to spend her fortune as she might deem most pro-

per.

Religious orders, however, are of two classes. are houses which are independent, and there are others which are affiliated to a mother house either here or abroad. In England, for instance, there are only two or three affiliated houses, and they are in connexion with nunneries in France. One of these communities was established here for the purpose of taking care of orphans. The good nuns who founded it came over here, and sunk £4,000 or £5,000 of their money for that holy object. Others have come for the purpose of conducting education. They were sent here from the parent houses abroad, to which they remain connected as affiliated convents. But in these orders, it is perfectly well known to any lady who may enter the house, that she is not to be confined to that house, but may have to change her domicile, and go as a missionary to other places, if it be found desirable that she should do so. It is considered no hardship that ladies should go abroad with their husbands who may choose to become missionaries; and who shall say that it is a grievance for Catholic nuns to be sent to the Cape of Good Hope, or Calcutta, when they entered the religious. houses for the very purpose of going where their superior might find it desirable to send them? Is it, then, a grievance that English nuns are abroad? No; it is a matter of choice. And as to the other class of convents, where they are independent, there is no power to remove a nun out of the house to which she belongs, and never, therefore. do any go abroad, unless their health should perhaps require a change of climate.

There is, however, another grievance, we are told. It is, that daughters of clergymen in the Church of England

^{*} Mr. Seymour's exaggerated and false statements, and deductions on this pretended grievance of deportation in his second Lecture, are truly beneath notice.

have been induced to enter Catholic convents. But we are not told how many have entered convents, because they have been driven from their father's house. Let us set grievance against grievance. We could give the names of many who have driven their children from their homes, not because they had become Catholics, but merely because they were suspected of entertaining Catholic views. .There is an instance with which we are acquainted, in which the father, whilst his daughter was yet in the age of pupilage, and before she had become a Catholic, in the depth of the night, pushed her from his house, and closed his door upon her. Again, we could give a case in which the three daughters of a gentleman were sent away from their home, with no more clothes than those they wore sent away in cold and bitter weather, as the day was closing; and they had to walk six or seven miles be-They were not then become fore they found shelter. Catholics; but Catholics took them in, and afforded They sent to their father for their them shelter. clothes, but he refused to give them. They were aged from fourteen to twenty, and had never left their parental roof. For a time they were entirely dependent on the charity of strangers. One of them, however, obtained a situation as a governess, and the others have entered a convent. Oh, there is nothing unnatural in a Protestant father driving his children into the streets of London: but let that child seek refuge in a Catholic convent, and the act is made a subject for rabid declamation, and becomes a great iniquity in exciting harangues. The clergyman of the parish was waited on, and entreated to intercede with the parents, but he refused, and defended their conduct.

We are ready to give the names of these persons, but we must have a proper assurance, that they are not required for the satisfaction of mere curiosity. When, therefore, any lady or gentleman whose station and character are such as to leave no doubt of the propriety of entrusting to them the delicate duty of enquiring into the private affairs of others, we shall have no hesitation in putting them in possession of such evidence as will verify what we

say.

And let us here add a reference to still more serious cases. We could cite instances of Protestant parents, upon their children becoming Catholic, compelling them

to enter convents, at least as boarders, by giving them an allowance, only on the condition of living there. Still worse, we have ourselves been applied to, by such parents, to assist in obliging a daughter to become a nun, in spite of her repugnance, or at least in absence of all inclination. We replied, that they had totally mistaken the object of such institutions, which were not prisons, but the abode of voluntary, and happy recluses. In his lecture, the cardinal gave the following illustration:—

"I have said that such instances are recent. No earlier than yesterday I heard of the case of an individual, not far from here, who has driven his daughter from her home because she had become a Catholic. She, too, was received into a conventual house, and received food and shelter, where, God knows, the nuns are poor enough. It is only a few days ago since this event happened in a

neighbouring county.'

And here, by way of showing the extreme inaccuracy and looseness of statement which characterises Mr. Seymour's lectures, we will give an extract from the first. It follows the anecdote about the nun plunging into the Tiber. We deny that statement, not vehemently, but coolly, and until it is proved, according to the old English maxim, we maintain that we have a right to deny it. The lecturer, however, proceeds to say:—

"I know, and we all know, how vehemently they deny charges of this kind; and we are all acquainted with the amount of vehement indignation with which they receive our charges against their priestly inquisitors."—p. 20.

He then proceeds to describe the Grand inquisitor as follows:—

"I well remember the Grand Inquisitor at Rome. He was a tall man with small and neat features; a hectic colour suffused his pale face; he had a small sparkling eye, and that nervous movement of every feature which denotes a man of extreme irascibility of temper. He was a man like Saul, head and shoulders above his fellows, and, dressed as he was in the peculiar robes of the Dominican order, was always a striking figure in the Papal processions."

What a striking picture! It wants but truth! The Grand Inquisitor has no place in the Papal processions,

and, therefore, is not always there! It is a dream, or it is a fiction!*

And then, following it, is the tale which we should have thought any one would have been ashamed to reproduce again at this time—the tale of the Inquisition having been thrown open to the people of Rome, and of the evidences of torture found therein! Surely any one who pretended to tell that to his hearers as truth, ought also to have told them, that the whole scene was got up by the revolutionists to excite the feelings and inflame the minds of the populace. He ought to have told them that those who first went in, when the gates of the Inquisition were thrown open, saw none of those things; he ought to have told them that after that the place was sedulously closed for several weeks; that then it was again thrown open; and that then it was, that the instruments of torture were seen, and the charred bones, and the remains of human bodies. But it has since been proved by an eminent antiquary, that the spot was formerly a cemetery for the interment of strangers, and that the bodies discovered were, without doubt, those of persons buried there. Nobody in Rome

^{*} Mr. Seymour, in answer to this, pretends that he did see the Grand Inquisitor, in his Dominican habit in papal processions, as English, German, and French gentlemen after receiving palms from the Pope, join in such processions "unofficially," and so does "the Grand Inquisitor, whom Mr. S. saw." But our denial is total. Omitting the trifling fact that there is no Dominican holding such an office as Grand Inquisitor, which does not exist, we say, 1st. that Mr. Seymour's description of the very tall Dominican, with sparkling eye, &c., is that of F. Buttaoni, Master of the Sacred Palace, who has an official place in all papal processions, and is, or was, generally in them. 2nd. That the first Commissary of the Holy Office, who is the highest Dominican functionary in that dreaded tribunal, never officially or otherwise attends such functions. 3rd. That Mr. S. speaks of some one who always was there, which could not apply to any Dominican, but him whose portrait he so well remembers. Such points may appear trifling: but like what we noticed above, about "the abbess or the nun," they serve to show what any one will at once see, a habit of saying one thing obvious in meaning, and then when this is proved false, a shuffling into another possible meaning, not contemplated in the first statement. This is characteristic of this gentleman's writings. It is impossible to follow him, into the countless instances of it, in these lectures.

believes that tale now; and it is a cruel imposition to

repeat it as true.

But this subject has already been treated in the 28th volume of this Review, (p. 505) to which we therefore refer our readers. Mr. Seymour thinks it impossible that the Inquisitors should have built their palace over a grave-yard. They did not build it anywhere; Pius V. bought it already built, adjoining the church called "S. Salvatoris de Ossibus."

All this is intended, however, only to introduce what we must call the vulgar part of the attack on nunneries. For he continues thus:

"There were these ghastly witnesses of the sacerdotal villanies of Rome. I mean not to say" [that is, I do mean to say] "that we shall find similar evidence in the cells of all their nunneries; but so long as they are characterized with mystery, secrecy and concealment, so long we feel there is something that requires mystery, something that requires secrecy, something that requires concealment."—p. 21.

It has been always in our memory, a sort of English proverbial boast, that "every Englishman's house is his castle:" and even Mr. Seymour loudly eulogizes the security from domiciliary visits which residence in this country affords. But it seems, this privilege and this security do not, or ought not to belong to those, whom we should have imagined feelings, not of gallantry, but of manliness would have rendered most sure of their possession. Ladies, frequently of the highest rank, and always of the most irreproachable character, whose fathers, brothers, and relatives are often in the Senate, in the Army, among the best of the land, living together in their own houses, associating poorer, but unimpeachable sisters to their community, at peace with all around them, blameless, charitable, and unoffending, without any protection but their own worth, any guardianship but the equal laws of their country, are singled out, as requiring to be made exceptions to that liberty of living as one chooses, so long as he does not infringe the laws, of which Mr. Seymour makes a special boast. (p. 8. 2nd Lect.) We do not know what exactly he means by "sacerdotal villany;" but one form of it we should not hesitate to find, in any person deeming and calling himself a clergyman, who yet, without evidence, or shadow of reason, should cast the foulest imputations on those whose sex, rank, education, character and life entitle them to the respect and honour, or at any rate to the forbearance, of gentlemen and Christians, as much as his own wife, or daughters, or sisters. Nay, if the domestic conversation of some of that class be of such topics as they love to luxuriate in, on protestant platforms, we think an inquisition into the moral training of a parson's family may become a fitter subject of legal consideration, than Mr. Seymour's proposal for a search in the cells of convents. He then goes on,

"If they wish to escape our suspicions, or to refute our charges let them fling open their gates, let the light of day in on their inner life, and let their nunneries be made subject to official and

public visitation."

"But, I ask, is there no remedy for these things? Is it not the duty of the Legislature to provide a remedy for these things? And are we not justified in appealing to the Sovereign of this land, herself a woman, to shield us from institutions like these? My own full and deep conviction is, that the only effectual remedy is the strong remedy of absolutely prohibiting altogether the existence of such establishments among us."—p. 52.

And again :-

"I have to thank the meeting for the kindness and the patience with which they have heard me, and I have to apologise for having detained them so very long. I will only add that, if this movement, in reference to the conventual system, leads to a more general movement throughout the country, or if I have succeeded in awakening in any breast here present a sympathy for those poor and imprisoned females of our nunneries, I have accomplished all I contemplated on the present occasion."—p. 57.

We have spoken of this part of the subject, as the more vulgar part. Every body who happens to be so unfortunate as to incur the suspicions of Mr. H. Seymour and his friends, is bound to "fling open his gates" to them, or petition for the favour and honour of being made "subject to an official and public visitation." Once a year, or oftener, if the public desire it, the gardens and houses of these ladies, including their cells, or private rooms, of course, cellar and kitchen, chapel and refectory must be made a public promenade, like Greenwich hospital and park; and the peeping and peering ladies of towns, who have petitioned parliament on the subject, and would give anything to see how nuns live, and the evangelical

clergyman's family, who are dying to have a good stare at those mysterious creatures with "such frippery as crucifixes and rosaries dangling at their girdles," would thus have an opportunity of satisfying their vulgar curiosity.

But we believe our readers will be surprised when, after they have read these passages, they are informed of what The gentleman to whom we have alluded, as having called on Mr. Seymour, with honest indignation asked him, whether he intended his accusations to apply to religious establishments in England, in which he had relatives most dear to him; and what, think you reader, was his reply? We will give the words of that gentleman's letter. "My object in calling on him was for the purpose of ascertaining from himself his authority for certain statements made by him in his lecture on nunneries; and also to hear from him, if he intended to insinuate anything disrespectful to such establishments in England. As to the latter, he declared most positively, that he knew nothing to the discredit of any nun, or nuns in England. When I mentioned anything respecting my experience of convents in this country, and alluded to the insults I considered he had offered to those nearest and dearest to me, he met me by stating that he did not wish to insinuate anything against nuns in England, but only against the Surely this can hardly be called honest. Were they the Roman convents, which the Queen was to be petitioned about, and the legislature to interfere with? Were they Spanish convents which must fling open their gates "to us," if they wish to escape our suspicion? Is not all this mere cowardice and shuffling, a mean fear of admitting face to face, to an upright and honourable man, what was meant to be understood by the audience of the Assembly Rooms? Who does not know that those lectures were only a part of the machinery set at work, to inflame the public mind against convents in England; so much so that, were any one now to ask, why lofty walls and barred gates in convents, we might well justify our former answer, and illustrate it from present circumstances. For if again religious fanaticism is to rule, and the inventions of religious hatred are to be proclaimed as truth, the time may be near, when nuns may be again glad to have bolts to their doors, and bars to their windows. For, with such

^{* 1}st. Lect. p. 29.

inflammatory harangues as we have heard against these noble-hearted women-but that our people have bravely resisted the effort made to excite them—we might see, as was seen in America, mobs surrounding and destroying, the houses which the nuns had erected as a refuge for the

poor!

Again, just to mention what some will consider a trifling matter, but which is adduced to show the hardship of a conventual life, we are told that when a young lady enters a convent and takes the veil, she is obliged to give up her Christian name and surname, and is never again known by her family or parental name; so that she is so cut off from the world in this respect, that "if a communication could possibly reach the outer world, from the world within, if it were possible that one of these sisters escaped from the convent, she could not, in all probability, inform any family in the land, of the destiny, however sad or necessary to be known, of any one of her sister nuns, owing to the fact of her not knowing the family name of any member of the sisterhood." This is too absurd, really, for confutation, but it is not true. In every convent, certainly in this country, every nun knows the family name of every one in the community; in many the family name is joined to the religious; in some, as in the Sacré Cœur, no change of name takes place. The statement is therefore a fiction simply.

We must pass over a great deal, because we must test some statements, in order to obtain a standard of the veracity of the rest. Let us take one which occurs near the end of the lecture, and which shows that it was the convents of England, and not those on the Continent, which the

speaker meant. He says-

"My own full and deep conviction is, that the only effectual remedy is the strong remedy of absolutely prohibiting altogether the existence of such establishments among us. And although some persons will, perhaps, suggest that this is inconsistent with the liberties of the Roman Catholics, or of the Church of Rome, I would remind them that Milan is in a country where the whole population is Roman Catholic, where the government is Roman Catholic, where the Established Church is Roman Catholic; and yet in Milan they have a law absolutely forbidding the existence of nunneries. Some years since they suppressed every nunnery within their frontier; and last autumn I visited the last lingering relics of the last of them. In what had been once a most magnificent esta-

blishment, there were now only two old nuns; they were regarded as too old to be removed, and they are allowed to remain and die there, but are absolutely prohibited from receiving any new or younger sister: and, perhaps, at the time I am speaking, those two old women are gone. With this exception, there is not a nun, or a nunnery, permitted within the walls of Milan."

Now here is a very definite statement, the result of personal examination, and clearly intended to rest upon the authority of the author himself. You are intended to understand, that the present government of Milan, absolutely forbids the existence of nunneries, that there are but two old nuns in the place, who are prohibited from receiving any new or younger sister, and that besides these there is not a nun or a nunnery within the walls of Milan! You would suppose, too, that this system of suppression was a system approved of by the church of Milan, because you are not given to understand that it was some tyranny of the government which deprived nuns of the convents, but that the church must have assisted in the prohibition! You are told that "Milan is in a country where the whole population is Roman Catholic, where the government is Roman Catholic, where the Established Church is Roman Catholic, and yet in Milan they have a law absolutely forbidding the existence of nunneries."

We will now give a list of the convents in Milan, and the names of the streets in which each is situated, and the

order to which each belongs.

I. CLOISTERED NUNNERIES IN MILAN.

1. Visitation. There is a convent of the order of the Visitation. It is situated Al ponte di Porta Romana, at the bridge of the Roman gate. There is a school for young ladies of rank attached to it; it has existed for two hundred years; it was exempted from the suppression by Napoleon, in 1810, and is flourishing now.

2. Augustinians. Al corso di Porta Tosa. They have

a school for young ladies.

3. Ursulines. Contrada della Vetera de' Cittadini, Borgo di Porta Ticinese—Boarding school and poor school.

4. Ursulines. Piazza di Sant' Ambrogio—Boarding school and poor school.

II.—Not Cloistered Convents.

1. Le Signore della Guastalla. Contrada di S. Barnaba Porta Tosa—Boarding school for young ladies.

2. Figlie di Carità, founded by the Marchioness Canossa. Four houses:-

1. Noviceship at S. Michele della Chiusa, Porta

Ticinese.

2. Casa Fagnani, contrada di S. Maria Fulcorina, Porta Vercellina.

Contrada della Signora, Porta Tosa.

4. A. S. Simpliciano, borgo di Porta Comoriana.

Now these four houses have poor schools, an establishment for the deaf and dumb, a normal school to educate school mistresses from country villages, and other institutions for works of charity attached to them.

3. Sisters of Charity, founded by La Capitaneo, in

Lovere. Three houses :-

1. A magnificent hospital for women, near Porta Nuova.

2. The female part of the great city hospital.

3. A house for penitents in the Ospizio dell' Addolorata, presso S. Barnaba, Porta Tosa.

Therefore, in Milan, you have three cloistered orders, and three not cloistered orders; you have four houses of the first description, and eight of the second. In other words, you have twelve convents in Milan, flourishing up to the 1st of April, (at which time our news of them is

dated,) and not suppressed!

But, as it is said that the nunneries are not only suppressed in Milan, but within their frontier, we will mention that in the diocese of Milan there are, besides those we have named as being within the city, convents at the S. Monte sopra Varese, Augustinians cloistered, at Monza, Treviglio, Legnano, Sisters of Charity; at Cernusco, an infant institution for the education of the middle class of persons, #

Thus making altogether seventeen religious houses in the town and diocese, in which it has been said there is not one!

^{*} Mr. S., in his reply, says: "Of the province, however, I spoke nothing, because, in speaking of the city of Bath, we do not include the county of Somerset." (p. 49.) Is there no difference, then, between a county-town and the capital of a kingdom? Does not this usually give law to its "province?" But what, then, did Mr. S. mean by "the frontier," which he includes in the suppression? Mr. S.'s further replies and shifting of ground are too evidently in contradiction with his first statements to need comment,

Now what is this story about the two poor old nuns? It is true, as you all know, that convents were suppressed in 1810 by Napoleon. But is it fair to tell us that they are suppressed now, in a country where the people are Catholic, the government Catholic, and the Church Catholic? Napoleon made the suppression of all the convents in Milan excepting two, one of which has since ceased to exist, while sixteen others have risen up since 1820 in that liberal city. Now about these two old nuns. Napoleon, when he suppressed the convents, gave the great convent of S. Maria Maggiore, in the Corso di Porta Vercellina, to such nuns as wished to retire and die off in peace. may be two of those nuns still living; and the lecturer says he visited them, and that they are in what "had been once a magnificent establishment." But as to the fact of his visit to these nuns, there is this difficulty; it is said the author visited them in the autumn of 1851, whereas, in 1848, that convent was converted into a barracks, and has since continued so. The two old nuns, however, might perhaps have been removed to some other establishment; but that there are only two nuns, and no nunneries in Milan, we do deny, and we have given the reader an opportunity of ascertaining the truth.

We come to another part of the subject which deserves a passing notice. It is that, where the speaker attempts, by entering into calculations, to show that the keeping up of convents is a pecuniary interest to the clergy, by the

wealth thereby said to be created.

Having ourselves had some experience in convents and their affairs, and having, by the blessing of God, contributed to establishing several, we can safely state our solemn conviction, that they are generally very poor. We have never seen this great wealth. Indeed, so poor are they, that we have to make appeals yearly for their support, and that many of the inmates of them have to labour with their hands, as much as any poor needle-woman in London, to maintain themselves, and supply relief to the poor!

We will show, however, how erroneous these calculations, and how loose the lecturer's statements are.

It is said the amount of dowry each lady brings into the convent varies in different nunneries: "in some nunneries it is as low as £300, in others as high as £1000;" and that, taking it at the lowest sum, this would give a large

capital to the Church, "inasmuch as the interest of the dowry is sufficient for the ordinary support and maintenance of the nun; the original principal or capital remains intact. And the consequence is, that there is an enormous capital always accumulating for the Church of Rome, which is placed at the disposal of the Rota, or the Propaganda of the Church of Rome."*

Again, as a test of the accuracy of the statements, we will take the following:—"When I was in Tuscany, a few years since, I made enquiries on the subject, and was informed that there were from five to six thousand nuns in that vicinity." Now, we cannot tell what the vicinity of Tuscany means, because Tuscany is not a city, but a country; and when we talk of a vicinity, we mean the neighbourhood of some town. We will suppose Florence and its vicinity are here meant; but we will take it as being the whole of Tuscany. The author proceeds then to say: -" Now if we take the lowest number, 5000, and take also the lowest amount of dowry, £300, it will give at once, as a result, no less than a million and a half of sterling capital."-(p. 34.)

On what information, we should like to know, does the author found this calculation? But we will first test the accuracy of his figures by another statement. He goes on to say:-" When I was in Rome, they informed me that there were two thousand nuns in that city—and its vicinity; and if we take these at the lowest sum-namely, £300 each--it will give you £600,000 as their accumulated

capital."

Now, in Rome, there are published official returns of the number of nuns, and we find, instead of 2000, as stated, the number to be 1500, or five hundred short; and that, when £300 are attached to each, would make a considerable difference in the calculation.

If, then, this hearsay at Rome turns out to be so erroneous also, may we not conclude that the hearsay in Tuscany was erroneous also?

And in fact so it is. The following extract of a letter

^{*} First Lecture, p. 34. The Rota is the first civil tribunal of Rome; the Propaganda is the department of foreign missions. Neither has anything to do with convents, or their money. Nor does "the Church of Rome" get sixpence from them, nor any other church.

dated June 4, from an English gentleman of high character, for more than thirty years a resident in Florence, will prove this.

"The Rev. Mr. Hobart Seymour was singularly unfortunate in the information he received when in Tuscany a few years ago relative to the inmates of nunneries in Florence and its vicinity. If he had looked into a Tuscan Almanac, or had enquired for the statistical returns published every year by order of the Government, he would have learnt the precise number of the conventual establishments existing in the Grand Duchy, as well as of the professed and lay friars and nuns which they contain. Here is a verbatim copy of the authentic return of October 31, 1851.

In Firenze Monasteri di Femine No. 13, con entro Individui 436 Conservatorii (Oblate, educande, senza voti) ... 333

In Toscana Monasteri di Femine No. 70, Individui ... 2171

Id. Conservatorii come sopra No. 48. id. ... 1311

La dote che portano le monache è di Scudi 300, a Scudi 500

Le servigiali non ne portano che Scudi 25.

Of the above inmates in nunneries, two-thirds may be considered as professed nuns, one-third as lay-sisters."

We give a translation of the part of the above statement which relates to convents.

"In Florence, Convents of women, No. 13, with Inmates, 436. In Tuscany, " 70, " 2171. The dowry brought by the nuns is from 300 to 500 dollars. The lay sisters bring only 25 dollars."

We must observe, that the first number, that of convents in Florence, is included in the second, that of convents in Tuscany. For we have now before us a full and detailed table of every convent in Tuscany, the capital included, and the total number is exactly 2171. Only want of room prevents us publishing it.

Further, we must remark, that 300 and 500 Tuscan dollars, or Francesconi, are equivalent respectively to

about £63 and £107.

Hence we have to make the following moderate reductions in the data of Mr. Hobart Seymour's calculation of Tuscan monastic wealth. Instead of 5000, or 6000 nuns, we must substitute 2171; not half his lowest number. Instead of his lowest amount of dowry, £300, we must take as many dollars, or one-fourth of that sum. So much for the accuracy of his calculations.

Again we must further reduce. Of the 2171 nuns, one-

third are lay sisters who bring no dowry: for their £5 or 25 dollars are not funded, but serve for their first expenses, habit, etc. There are therefore only 1448 nuns instead of 5000 paying dowry. Taking 400 dollars as the medium dowry, we find Mr. Seymour's "sterling capital" of a million and a half, possessed by Tuscan convents, dwindle

down to £121,356, or about a twelfth.

Similar exaggerations will be found in all the other We have not made any minute enquiry: but we unhesitatingly say, that wherever we have asked, the result has been the same. In Belgium the dowry is not generally above £60: and there, and in France, and in England many are received without any, or with a very diminished portion. And this is one reason why convents do not become rich. If the money received were apportioned equally among the inmates, it would be found, for each individual, far below the prescribed dowry. Then again Mr. Seymour quite overlooks the constant outgoings, for repairs, rebuilding, and often beginning from the foundation, of convents, churches, schools, and other requisites. He will certainly never find a community becoming rich. through accumulation of capital. A new foundation, or a new building, or the poor, will soon swallow up any amount of conventual savings. As to his assertion that pecuniary advantages thus "accrue to the Church of Rome," we can only say it is a simple untruth. The property of a convent is administered by the community itself.

To crown this question, and prove by "evidence," that in Tuscany, Perugia, and Chiaveri, (Piedmont) the dowry is £300, Mr. Seymour goes to the court of Exchequer, where it was declared that a young lady in *Ireland* had to pay £600!* Now nothing had been said about the portion in Great Britain, where marriage portions and fortunes generally are larger, and where ex-

penses are much heavier.

Before leaving Tuscany, we must touch on a subject, from which we naturally shrink. In his first Lecture Mr. Seymour said, that out of a multitude of illustrations he selected one, "because it occurred within the lifetime of many in this assembly:" namely, "the revelations respecting the nunneries in Tuscany." (p. 21.) He then

went into further details. The natural impression was. that he alluded to something recent, proving great corruption in those establishments, almost at present. In fact who could have suspected from the expression we have marked, that he referred to an enquiry commenced seventy-seven years ago, and closed a few years later? Were there two people, we wonder, in the Bath Assembly Rooms that day, who were living at that time? less than an untruth then to speak of that event, as appropriately chosen, "because it occurred during the life-

time of many in that assembly?"

But to proceed: at that time, before the French Revolution, several convents, exempt from episcopal jurisdiction, were represented as being in a state of frightful immorality. All the accounts that have been published are on one side, and there was every encouragement given to the accusation. Though commenced before his time, it was chiefly under the Jansenist and infidel bishop Scipio Ricci and the clergy of Pistoja, and under the reforming Grand Duke who was suppressing religious houses, that the investigation was carried on. There was every temptation, and every encouragement, for any amount of exaggeration. The circumstances were the same as in the time of Philip le Bel, and the Templars, or Henry VIII. and his suppressions.* Posterity does not believe the revelations of either period, especially the first.

In a late number of this Review, the subject had been treated, and reference was made to it, in the Cardinal's reply to Mr. S.† It was said that two of the principal accusers were evidently mad. It was acknowledged by H. E. that disorders had occurred, and even allowing for all exaggeration, of a very heinous character. But further, it was argued, that the Holy See at once gave all necessary powers for reformation and correction, and authorized even the suppression of some convents. It might have been added. that since the commencement of the late Grand Duke's

^{*} Not long ago an investigation took place into some English military schools: and frightful revelations were made. Many boys were expelled: but parents have continued to maintain the innocence of many, who were terrified, or impelled by the contagion of example, to accuse themselves grossly but unjustly. We have seen other instances of this case.

[†] Vol. xxxii. p. 65.

reign, in 1790, not a complaint, nor a call for reformation, has been made: but the friend, whose letter from Florence we have already quoted, observes, "things are now very different in Tuscany; the nunneries are most exemplary in

their morals and disciplinary conduct."

It appears, therefore, that if crime should unfortunately at any time invade what is most holy, (and even the Apostles had to deplore such cases:) the Church has both will and power to cut out the gangrene, and restore the body to Now what is the answer which Mr. Seymour makes to this straightforward, and simple reply? Truly none: but the opportunity was too good to be lost, of reading to an assembly of gentlemen, many of them clergymen, the filthiest extracts from the evidence, real or imagined, of those wretched women. What necessity for this? it may well be asked. Nobody denied that such testimony had been given, and the hearing it could not prove that it was all true. And surely any of the gentlemen present could have been referred to the venomous pages of De Potter, and been allowed to suck himself full of the virus, in solitary unblushingness. But no; the zest would have been taken out of the evening's treat: the lecture would have wanted its anticipated relish. as it was known, that ladies were to be excluded, there could be no doubt as to the indelicacy and loathsomeness of the materials, which this so-called minister of "religion undefiled" had collected for the edification of his audience. We own that we have not read the passages referred to in De Potter, nor even have we read the extracts in Mr. Seymour's Lecture; and we care not to avow it. We love not to wallow in mire and filth; we have been early . trained to a contrary course. And what good to mind or heart can it be, to rake up the scandalous chronicle of those who have long answered for their gross iniquity before God's judgment-seat, and are now, either expiating it in burning flames, or weeping over it, so far as tears are permitted to the saved, because repentant, souls? Are these the topics for religious addresses, or for religious Are they matters to delight in publishing, in a cheap form, with asterisks, and breaks, and inuendos, to convey to the delicate imagination of Protestant ladies. after much unfit for their eye and thought has met them, that there are fouler obscenities concealed, which the clergyman with glib tongue, and unquailing eye, could deliver to his

fifteen hundred hearers, "including a majority of the clergy, and many of the most respectable and influential inhabitants of Bath?" For we are frequently told that what he read, was totally unfit for publication. And what is reading but publishing? Such notes we often find in newspaper reports of judicial proceedings, which cannot shrink from looking into cases of disgusting immorality; but we consider it disgraceful for them to occur in any discourse addressed by a clergyman, to an assembly of Christians.

And here indeed we may be expected to say a few words respecting the Rev. gentleman's claim to credit, when he gives his word for any statement. Twice, before, he has been arraigned before public opinion for unfairness, to say the least, of a most questionable character. One is an old affair, with a fellow-clergyman of his own, the Rev. Mr. Merewether; the other is of more recent date, and refers to his memorable "Mornings with the Jesuits." must content ourselves with sending our readers to the full exposure of this work in the "Rambler;" where it is demonstrated, that personages, times, and conversations in it, are pure fictions. On these grounds, we consider ourselves justified, prejudicially, in doubting any statement about Catholics, which this gentleman may make. thrice, in his lecture, calls the Rev. Mr. Prynne of Devonport "that unmanly fellow:" (P. 43.) what if that gentleman should retort the compliment?

And now we draw to a conclusion; and we will do so by transcribing the close of the Catholic lecture, as taken down, not indeed with exactness of phrase, but with tolerable accuracy of substance.

"There is too much contradiction in this lecturer,—at one time we are told of the great wealth of convents, and the large dowries taken into them by the nuns, who are ladies of rank and distinction; but when it is wished to depress the character of the inmates, then we are told that 'the great body of the members are of a wholly inferior social position; they are ordinarily of the same class as our inferior tradespeople, as our parish schoolmistresses, and as the nurses in our hospitals.'

"Thank God it is so; because the mixing of the different ranks in a common charity, is a safeguard against the inroads of a proud and haughty spirit. When I find the noble dame, and the first amongst the fair in the land,

entering upon her humble walk, side by side with one who may have been her servant, I think it is a great triumph of religion, which thus works out, irrespective of social rank and position, the highest Christian virtues, and can combine the great and the little together, in a common undertaking of holy charity. It makes too the religious state, not a dreamy and abstract sort of existence—a romantic life of enthusiasm and poetry, in which one lives amidst the fleeting visions of imaginary perfection, and piety and vanity are mixed together; but a real and practical condition of life. For when persons of the class of our 'inferior tradespeople,' enter our nunneries, and engage in the religious state, you may be sure there is energy and vigour of life within our convents. You cannot get persons of the class of our inferior tradespeople, to enter, where there is nothing but romance and poetry. Depend upon it there is the work of the hands, and the vigour of sound health within, where you get people of that station to enter.

"I should wish to conclude by making an appeal to the better feelings of that portion of my audience, who are being carried away by a singular perversity of feeling, to become the enemies of what may justly be considered the very

pride of their sex.

"I hear of meetings of ladies, whose object is, to open the doors of all convents, and to give the power of inspection to magistrates and commissioners. I will not believe that the mere current of their own sentiments would lead them to this: but surely their best feelings must have been sadly worked upon, before they could give their sanction to such a proposal as that magistrates, a class not always composed of spotless characters, perhaps mere hunting squiresperhaps bigoted clergymen-should be at liberty to go to the habitations of ladies, who have purchased the property for their own abodes, and chuse to live there, with other English ladies: and that these officials should have the power of calling every member of the community before them, as they would the inmates of the workhouse, or of subjecting them to an inspection and examination, as though they were patients of a lunatic asylum—that they should search every nook of their dwelling, and pry into the most private apartments of their abode. The ladies of this city surely cannot be advocates of such a proceeding! Yet they have been so worked upon, that they think they are fighting the battle of their sex, and of religion, in

demanding it. O! shame on us! shame upon our age! shame upon our country! that we should be exposed to the feelings of almost contempt, which these meannesses have

brought upon us in foreign lands!

"As long as the attack was against men, as long as we were called invaders, aggressors, and much else, we bore it without complaint. It becomes men to fight the battle of their honour with honourable weapons, and the battle of religion, with such means as religion supplies. But when this public excitement, this fanaticism, is turned away from us, upon those little, weak, defenceless societies of women, it is unworthy of a nation which prides itself upon high chivalric sentiments; but more especially does it not become those to join in the cry whose hearts and sympathies ought to be with their own sex, and in the defence of

its unblemished character.

"But it is said, what practical purpose of true religion can this conventual system serve? What need is there of communities of nuns to carry on the work of benevolence and charity? They do no more, we are told, than any lady ought to do; and living and active Christianity is manifested by the ladies of this city, in giving instruction to the poor, in plunging into the cellars and haunts of poverty, to relieve the needy and comfort the sick." Such may be, and are, no doubt, works of benevolence and charity, in which many are engaged; and whatever may be my belief upon theological questions, I heartily concur in any praise of such conduct, and in believing that families of clergymen, and of the wealthy, may, and often do, scatter many blessings upon the poor.

"But to say that no man, or woman, should rise above the ordinary level of virtue, is what I cannot admit. It must be remembered, that in every virtue, there is the ordinary sphere of duty, and there is a higher degree which raises the individual into the hero. It is common to many men to stand up for their own rights; but it is given to few to be defenders of the rights of nations; and whilst we commend the daily courage of the many, they are rare who rush into the storm of danger, and strive and battle for their country or their race, till they are hailed as their heroic champions. Woman's mission is elsewhere. The gentle works of charity and kindness, are those in which are

^{*} First Lecture p. 29.

to be found her heroism. There are depths of charity, my friends, to which you cannot all descend; there are heights to which you cannot soar; and rejoice, therefore, that there are those of the female sex who can descend or soar

to the deepest depths, or the loftiest heights.

"It is not long since a poor Frenchman, in London, was seized with virulent small pox. He was alone in a strange land, with no relations near. Those in whose house he lay dare not approach him; it was death to do so! What mother then, I ask, would have been justified in visiting that poor man, and in bearing back infection to her family? What daughter would have been warranted to enter that abode of misery, to take back death to her fond parents, or to the rest of the little ones? Who then could perform the necessary offices of charity for that wretched man? It was the Sister of Mercy! Not one sister either, but That sister whose duty it was especially to attend upon that poor stranger, took the disease, and sickened and died, after weeks of suffering-she died the victim of Christian heroism. During her illness, her superior watched over her with a mother's care; and though it was felt that her life was more valuable than hers whom she watched over—though she might be justly called a choice flower—that superior refused to confide the duty to another. She herself took the disease, and we feared for her life; and it was not until after an illness of many days, that she was pronounced out of danger. So virulent was the complaint. that when I went to visit that good and admirable lady, I was not allowed to enter the house, because they were afraid I should take the contagion. There, my brethren, was a case in which Sisters of Charity and Mercy were required, and in which none other would do. I could mention the cholera again. Oh how many cases of devotedness like this, how many instances of misery and wretchedness relieved, might I not relate to you, as having occurred during the period of that pestilence, in which the instruments of mercy, and the Christian heroines, were our Sisters of Mercy. And not a few fell victims, or rather martyrs, of their charity.

"I call on you, then, to be just, if you will not be kind, and to insist that not a word be spoken against these defenceless but high-minded, and virtuous, and Christian women, unless evidence be produced such as would satisfy a court of justice of the charges against them. You will

not allow even your criminals to be condemned without proof; you would not permit even a mitigated punishment to be inflicted, without guilt being established. Will you, then, condemn women, whose lives are devoted to works of religion and charity, without the proof you demand for Oh, my friends, consider; is it not your criminals? become popular, to raise a cry against those who have fixed their love upon that, and devoted their lives to that, which they believe to be most pleasing to God; is it not become popular to raise an excitement against these persons, and to create such feelings in the breasts of the people, as you are told, should not be satisfied until these nuns are persecuted or banished, or subjected to the not less annoying and worrying system of a government inspection? entreat you, then, be just; and insist that no charge be made unless it be proved.

"In conclusion, I shall be satisfied if I have succeeded, by these remarks, in removing some of those prejudices which have been attempted to be excited amongst you. I shall be satisfied with having given up this portion of my time, and I shall not regret having tried your patience so long, if you bear away with you a spirit of justice, and a determination that none shall be oppressed."

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

I.—St. Peter; his Name and his Office, as set forth in Holy Scripture. By Thomas W. Allies, M.A., author of "The See of St. Peter, the Rock of the Church;" "A Journal in France," &c. Richardson and Son: London, Dublin and Derby.

We have not at present time or space to do more than notice the appearance of this *first-rate* and most admirable work. We hope, hereafter, to give at least some idea of its merits. At present we can only recommend in the strongest manner to our readers, and to all those who are not afraid of enquiring into the truth, this luminous,

powerful, and indeed irresistible summary of the proofs of the supremacy of St. Peter. The importance of this cardinal doctrine merited for it so able an exponent, and we trust that this book will be universally read. Mr Allies says, in his preface, that "the work took its rise, and is largely drawn from the very learned Father Passaglia's Commentary on the Prerogatives of St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles, as proved by the authority of Holy Writ,' which was published in Latin in 1850." He adds, "I have considered his whole work as a treasure-house of learning, whence I might draw at my pleasure 'things old and new,' adapting them, as I thought good, to the needs of the Protestant mind, as familiar to me in England." Those of our readers who are acquainted with Mr. Allies' former writings, will remember how well he is fitted for such a task as this. We wish we could do greater justice to the peculiar aptness and felicity with which he bas fulfilled it; but the book reached us too late for more than this short notice.

II.—The Catholic Offering, a Gift for all Seasons. By the Right Rev. WILLIAM WALSH, D.D., Bishop of Halifax. New York: Dunnigan & Co., 1852.

Bishop Walsh is well known in this country, as having been one of the first to open for the humbler classes of Catholics, the treasures of spiritual knowledge contained in the ascetic works of St. Alphonsus Liguori. His translations of the inimitable treatises of this great saint were among the first which appeared in English: and, although, for the most part, made from the French translations of the original, and consequently superseded in a great degree by the closer versions from the Italian, which have appeared since Dr. Walsh's removal to his present see, yet they entitle him to our warmest gratitude and respect.

His "Catholic Offering," however, would in itself furnish a claim entirely independent. It contains a series of most edifying and interesting pieces, both in prose and verse, so selected and arranged as to fill up the whole circle of the devotional year; and it is impossible to speak too highly of the tender devotional spirit which breathes through them all. Brief, simple, and practical, they come home to the heart without an effort, and contain lessons from which every

variety of disposition, and every condition in life may draw most solid and useful instruction.

But it is to the typographical excellence of the work, even more than its literary merit, that we would draw the attention of our readers. The clearness, accuracy, and beauty of the type, the elegance and solidity of the paper, the exquisite beauty, tastefulness and appropriateness of the illustrations, are beyond all praise. They would challenge admiration, even as issuing from the most distinguished press of London or of Paris; and as a specimen of transatlantic typography, we must confess that the "Catholic Offering" has taken us completely by surprise. No Catholic publication, for many years, has established such a claim on the patronage of the Catholic public of these kingdoms.

HI.—(1.) Josephine: a Tale for Young Ladies. From the French by MARY HACKETT. Translator of Count Montalembert's Life of St. Elizabeth. Dublin; Bellew, 1851.

(2.) Fridolin and Dietrich: a Tale. Translated from the German of Christopher Von Schmid, Canon of Augsburg. By C. W. RUSSELL, D.D. Dublin: Duffy, 1851.

We have coupled these pretty stories together as forming a most suitable addition to the domestic library of every Catholic family at this festive season. The former is intended for girls, the latter for boys; but to those who are acquainted with the other tales of Canon Schmid, or with those of the excellent author from whom "Josephine" is translated, we need hardly say that both are admirably adapted for the reading, not only of the youth of both sexes, but also for persons of maturer years.

IV.—We'sh Sketches, chiefly Ecclesiastical, to the close of the twelfth Century. By the author of "Proposals for Christian Union." Darling, 1851.

The author of this interesting little book is an Anglican clergyman, of the name of Appleyard, the same who of late has done so much good to the cause of Catholicity by two or three very well-timed works, among which we may instance "The sure Hope of Reconciliation," and "The Principles of Protestantism and the claims of the Church of Rome considered with a view to Unity." It would seem

that the unity of the Church, for which our Saviour prayed so earnestly, is the one subject which has engrossed this amiable writer's mind for many years. Can he possibly labour in a better cause, or in one more acceptable to God. or better calculated to forward the advance of God's truth? It is one which, whether he succeeds in it or not, will and must bring him grace from God, and if he singly and sincerely follow that grace, will end in peace, and in the gratification of his dearest hopes. We do not say that they will be gratified in the way that he hopes and expects,-for union on equal terms between the "One Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church" and the Anglican Establishment is simply a thing impossible,—but by forcing upon his mind the conviction that unity, as a matter of fact, is nowhere to be found on earth except in that Church which is called the "Catholic" Church, even by Her enemies. But we are in danger of forgetting that we are not reviewing Mr. Appleyard's former works; our business is with his "Welsh Sketches."

And first, we must remark, that this book seems to us somewhat fragmentary; somehow or other it does not wear the appearance of a whole; it seems part of some larger work. It begins with the earliest vestiges of antiquity; it carries us on, and leaves us-nowhere. After pursuing the thread of Welsh ecclesiastical history through eleven centuries, it suddenly breaks off in the middle of the twelfth; and why our author should do so we cannot tell. If he had carried us through what-not Mr. Appleyard — but Protestants in general call the "Dark Ages," and landed us fairly on bright and pure Protestant Reformation ground, we should have understood him. As it is, we are sorely puzzled. We can only hope that he has put forth the present volume with the deliberate intention of completing at some future time what seems to us now to be an imperfect work. Again, we may remark, that Mr. Appleyard's new work presents rather a contrast to his former productions in a certain way. We do not mean to disparage his "Welsh Sketches," when we say, that they seem to us rather an admirable collection of ecclesiastical antiquities, and of interesting facts bearing upon them, than an argumentive work exhibiting unity of design. In anything which comes from Mr. Appleyard, we naturally look, not for mere facts, however interesting, but for deductions drawn from facts, and for arguments based

upon the wide induction of particular instances, which he always has at command. And in this, as it appears to us. his little volume is remarkably deficient, as compared with his previous works. What we mean is this. Mr. Appleyard's great end and object in all his writings hitherto has been the re-union of Christendom: and we do not see how this particular work bears upon the subject, or subserves the great end which is always, we doubt not, even now, before his eyes. In fact, particularly in the last chapter, he seems to be advocating for the Welsh sees certain rights and privileges independent of Canterbury, and to imply that the process by which the See of Canterbury was able to assert and to gain metropolitan rights over the Church in Wales, was in some measure analogous to the gradual system of encroachment and tyranny to which Mr. Palmer and the Oxford school of Anglican divines are so fond of attributing the Patriarchal rights which the See of St. Peter exercised over Canterbury from the earliest times, as a Metropolitan See subordinate to itself. And Mr. A. will at once acknowledge, that the latent principle upon which he defends Giraldus and St. David's See against the claims of Canterbury, when pushed to its ultimate lengths, resolves itself into the theory of national independent Churches,—a position from which we felt sure that he would start back with horror, until we read his remarks in p. 92, which we quote below. Having said thus much, we are bound to acknowledge our obligations to Mr. Appleyard for his admirable sketch of Bardism and of the religion of the Druids. We have read it with the greatest interest, and we confess that it has opened to us fields of thought hitherto unknown to us. He traces out in successive order, with great accuracy,—the result of deep research and extensive acquaintance with his subject. -the foundation of Episcopal Sees throughout Wales: first at Llandaff, to which he assigns a date as early as 182, and afterwards at Carleon, about the middle of the fifth century,—a See which was afterwards transferred to St. David's, then called Menevia. He assigns the middle of the sixth century as the date of the foundation of Bangor, and the latter part of the same century as the date The legend connected with the foundation of St. Asaph. of this last See is charmingly told in p. 120, and contrasts most delightfully with the legal and official way in which the State Bishoprics, Ripon and Manchester for example, are now-a-days erected by Act of Parliament. We cannot forbear quoting from Mr. A. a few lines touching an ancient bishop of St. David's, which will show how far habits of asceticism were practised by episcopal dignitaries in days long since gone by: "Morgeneu, (A.D. 980-1000,) was the first Bishop of St. David's who ate flesh; his death by the hands of Danish pirates was a judgment upon the sinful indulgence. I say this..... upon the best authority,—that of the gross-feeding Bishop himself. He appeared to a certain Bishop in Ireland on the night of his death, showing his wounds, and saying: 'Because I ate

meat, I am made meat."

The following passage (p. 102) draws out a point which Protestant historians and controversialists are apt to slur over:—"Pope Gregory the Great, on sending Augustine into England, consecrated him under the title of Bishop of the English. His commission ran thus, 'We commit to thee, our brother, all the Bishops of the provinces of Britain, that the unlearned be instructed, the weak be strengthened by persuasion, the perverse be corrected by authority: and thou, brother, shalt have in subjection not only those bishops whom thou shalt ordain, nor those only who shall have been ordained by the Archbishop of York, but also all the Clergy of Britain, by the authority of our Lord Jesus Christ. With these credentials St. Augustine crossed the Saxon frontier, and presented himself in Britain." He then goes on to narrate the conference between St. Augustine and the British Bishops, which took place, according to tradition, at St. Augustine's Oak, in Worcestershire. At this conference, as is well known, the British Bishops asserted their independence, and, for a time, refused to adopt the Roman method of observing Easter, and administering the Sacrament of Baptism. We give our readers Mr. A.'s comment on the proceedings of this conference, though we by no means subscribe to the latter portion of it:-"The Pope. Augustine's Sovereign, commanded him to go and bring the British Churches into communion: he went and made the attempt: he could do no less. The British Church stood on her rights; she could have done no less: neither side is to blame." When he wrote this, had Mr. A. forgotten the original connection of King Lucius with Pope Eleutherius? to say nothing of the fact that Claudia and Pudens (mentioned by St. Paul, 2 Tim. iv. 21), confessedly

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derived their knowledge of the Christian faith from Rome? and that Aristobulus (mentioned in Rom. xvi. 10), who, according to Mr. A. "was sent (? by whom) as an Apostle to the Britons," and "was the first Bishop in Britain," was a disciple of St. Peter or St. Paul at Rome? (See pp. 93-95.) Was no tie of filial obedience, we may ask, due from the Church in Britain to the See of Rome in the day of St. Augustine, if it was to Rome, and to Rome only, that she owed long before the possession of the Faith? But Mr. Appleyard shall answer for himself:-"Happily I am not required to go into the general question of the British Churches. My subject is a single Church, a National Church, possessing her own national records of venerable antiquity." (p. 92.) But really we think that, to take the very lowest ground. it is most necessary for the historian or annalist of the Church in a particular country, not only to view her internally, but to regard also her external relation to other local Churches. and, above all, fairly to investigate the question of descent. And, we may fairly ask, does not the way in which Mr. A. shrinks from discussing the subject, imply that he has at heart some secret doubts as to his ability to make out a real case against the Roman claim of supremacy over the Church of Britain, as urged by the Holy See from St. Augustine's day even to the present time?

V.—Devout Prayers in Honour of the Holy Name of Mary, composed of five Psalms and five Antiphons, of which the initial letters in Latin, form together the holy name of Mary. London, Dublin, and Derby: Richardson and Son.

The plan of this devotion is fully explained in the title; it may be considered, indeed, as a sort of "office" to our Blessed Lady, very short and simple. The preface is an earnest exhortation to devotion for her, proceeding apparently from the well-known pious owner of Grace Dieu Manor.

VI.—A Devout Exercise as a Preparation for Death, as used by the Religious of Our Lady of Charity of the Good Shepherd, and recommended to be made frequently, especially at the beginning of Lent. London, Dublin, and Derby: Richardson and Son.

Excellent prayers, and highly to be recommended, especially the visit and devotions to the Sacred Heart, which are full of fervour.

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EBRATUM.-Page 417, second line from bottom, for decrease read increase.



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Page 533, line 5, for quality read quantity.

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